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ORIGINES;

OR,

REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN

OF

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SEVERAL

EMPIRES, STATES, AND CITIES.

BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR W. DRUMMOND.

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CANZONE per la Morte dell' Onor. Caval. GUGLIELMO DRUMMOND.

ORIGINES.

BOOK VII.

ASIA MINOR.

CHAPTER I.

THE Greeks appear to have originally understood by Asia only a small portion of the immense continent since known by that name. The region which was first so called, was apparently confined to the plains where the Caystrus flows, and where that river annually inundates the marshy valley which lies at the foot of Mount Tmolus. (Iliad B. v. 461. Euripid. Bacch. v. 64.) In the time of Herodotus, the name of Asia, used in its strict and proper sense, was limited to the country which is situate between the river Halys and the Hellespont. (L. 1. passim.) It is not so easy to ascertain

the boundaries of Asia, as this name was employed by writers who flourished after the time of the father of history. Strabo (L. 2.), in one place, divides the Asiatic continent into two parts—that within, and that beyond the mountains of Taurus. In another place (L. 11.) the same geographer enumerates four great divisions of Asia; and states that the fourth is comprehended in the country which lies on this side of the river Halys and the mountains of Taurus. In a third place (L. 2.) he seems to consider the peninsula to the west of the meridian of Amisus, as the region which is properly denominated Asia. He says elsewhere (L. 12.) that Apamea was, after Ephesus, the principal emporium of Asia Proper. This last-mentioned country is confined, according to Ptolemy (Ἀσίας πίναξ α'), within a yet narrower space. He represents Bithynia as forming the northern boundary of Asia properly so called; excludes from it Lycia and Pamphylia; and limits the number of its provinces to Phrygia, Æolia, Ionia, Caria, and Lydia, comprehending the coasts of the Hellespont and of the Ægean sea. It

will be remembered that Cicero (no doubt considering Æolia and Ionia as Greek names of parts of Lydia and Caria) has spoken of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia, as the regions which constituted Asia; nor did this great orator hesitate to give the appellation of Asia to the provinces of which his brother Quintus was governor. (Cic. pro Flacco, Epist. L. 2.)

But although the Greeks seem to have reserved, in the strictness of speech, the name of Asia for the regions mentioned above; yet there can be no doubt that, from a very early period, they gave this denomination (taken in a larger sense) to all the remaining parts which they knew of that quarter of the globe. Herodotus designated the countries beyond the river Halys as appertaining to the Upper Asia; while he occasionally indicated Asia Proper by the appellation of the Lower Asia. This distinction is perhaps nowhere more clearly marked than in the first book of that historian, when he tells us that *while Harpagus laid waste the Lower Asia, the nations of the Upper Asia were subdued by Cyrus.* (C. 177.)

The division of Asia into *Major* and *Minor* was not made until a considerable time after the establishment of the Roman empire. The name of Asia Minor is indeed never employed by the classical writers, who, when they wish to speak of the country now known by that name, call it Lower Asia, Asia Proper, Asia on this side of Taurus, or simply Asia. Strabo, and several other writers, have described it as a chersonēsus, or peninsula; and, considered under this point of view, Asia Minor has the Euxine sea to the north; the Propontis, the Hellespont, and the Ægean sea to the west; the Mediterranean sea to the south; and for its eastern boundary we may suppose a line drawn from the mouth of the river Iris to the bay of Issus. (See Rennell's map of Asia Minor.) It is indeed with more accuracy that Strabo, in his second and fourteenth books, supposes this line to pass between Amisus and Tarsus, than when, in his twelfth book, he draws it from Sinope to the Issic bay. The best modern maps clearly show that the eastern frontier of the peninsula corresponds more nearly with the

meridian of Amisus than with that of Sinope; nor could Strabo have assigned any good reason for not reckoning the western parts of Cappadocia, as well as the whole of Cilicia, within the limits of this Asiatic chersonesus.

Eratosthenes calculated the distance between Amisus and the bay of Issus at 3,000 stadia. This philosopher reckoned 700 stadia to the degree; but in order to judge of the accuracy of the calculation, we must know the measure of the stadium which he employed. D'Anville assigns to it 75 toises, 3 French feet, 7 inches; but I know not on what authority this geographer founds his statement, unless it be on a correction proposed by Hipparchus, who is said by Pliny to have calculated the circumference of the earth at 277,000 stadia, instead of 252,000, as had been done by Eratosthenes. There can be no doubt that the error was very great, if the stadium employed by this last-mentioned philosopher amounted to only 75½ toises, or to 483 English feet; since 252,000 of such stadia would fall short of the real measurement of the earth's circumference by more than 2,000

English miles. But neither is the amendment of Hipparchus quite accurate: 277,000 stadia, each consisting of 483 English feet, would exceed the measurement of the circumference of the globe by at least 100 leagues.

There seems, however, to be no good reason for supposing that Eratosthenes erred so much, in order to prove that Hipparchus was so nearly right. The former may have made his calculation by a stadium equal to 525, or more precisely, 524 English feet and a fraction. The latter may have preferred the use of a shorter stadium, equal to about 76 toises and a half. Now if this supposition be admitted, we can understand why Eratosthenes reckoned 252,000 stadia on the great circle; and why Hipparchus thought it necessary to increase the number to 277,000.

As there is nothing more certain than that the Greeks made their calculations by stadia of different dimensions, I can see no just cause for blaming Eratosthenes with some writers, or for censuring Hipparchus with others. It appears that later Greek geographers continued to

reckon 700 stadia to the degree, which would scarcely have happened, if Hipparchus, in speaking of stadia of the same dimensions with those employed by Eratosthenes, had shown that 50 more ought to be added to the calculation. Thus two modern Europeans may both be accurate in describing distances, while they seem to differ entirely from each other. An Englishman says, in round numbers, that the earth's circumference amounts to about 25.000 miles; while the German will state the measurement at 5,000 miles. We must reckon 16 English feet and a fraction for 15 French feet. Even in the same country the same names are often given to different dimensions. Every one's experience will furnish examples.

Some writers seem to have taken it for granted, that Eratosthenes had accurately calculated 700 stadia to the degree. Thus M. Gosselin, in a memoir crowned by the French Academy, assumes that 700 stadia are to be reckoned to the degree, without even mentioning the length of the stadium. There can be no dispute, that if Eratosthenes accurately measured an arc on

the meridian in Egypt, and that if he knew the dimensions of the great circle, he would rightly estimate the length of the stadium, when he assigned 700 stadia to the degree. But we cannot be sure that his knowledge was accurate, unless we can tell the length of the stadium by which he reckoned. I am indeed disposed to think that his calculation was nearly accurate. The stadium which he employed appears to me to have been not 75 toises and a half in length, equal to about 483 English feet, as D'Anville supposed, but 525 English feet nearly, as I have stated in my second volume. Now 700 of these stadia reckoned for the degree, would not amount to an error of 20 miles for the whole circumference of the globe. I have not, however, ventured to take it for granted, that Eratosthenes employed a stadium of nearly about 525 English feet in length. In the case now under consideration, he reckons 3,000 stadia as the distance between Amisus and the Issic bay. But 3,000 stadia, each equal to 525 English feet, would measure nearly 300 English miles; and this is about the distance given

between the two situations on the best maps which I have had it in my power to consult. I therefore consider this as one example, from which it may be argued that Eratosthenes rightly reckoned 700 stadia to the degree, and 525 English feet, nearly, to the stadium.

It is remarkable that Pliny should have been so ill-informed on this subject (L. 6. c. 2.) as to reckon only 200 Roman miles between Sinope and the Issic bay; and that he seems not to have been aware that this bay was further distant from Sinope than from Amisus. The errors committed by Ptolemy are still more extraordinary. He places Amisus about the 43d degree of northern latitude; and supposes it distant by almost 7 degrees from the bay of Issus. He reckons nearly 15 degrees of longitude between the Hellespont and the city of Amasia on the river Iris; and for the greatest breadth of Asia Minor, he counts about 9 degrees between Cape Carambis and the Mediterranean. I find by our best modern maps that the distance from east to west, from Amasia to the Hellespont, amounts to about 540 English

miles; and that 400 of the same miles are to be reckoned from south to north, from the Mediterranean to Cape Carambis.

No country of the globe possesses greater advantages than Asia Minor, from situation, from soil, or from climate. Surrounded on three sides by the sea, possessing commodious harbours, intersected by many rivers, abounding in fertile valleys, bearing almost every species of grain, producing the palm, the vine, the olive, and the citron, and situated between the 42d and the 36th degrees of latitude, this region can only be deficient in commerce and in agriculture by the fault of its inhabitants. But the prosperity of a country depends less on its soil and climate than on its government. It is in vain that Nature is prodigal of her bounties, if man be not tenacious of his rights. The possession of Asia Minor seems to have been disputed at a very early period by different nations; and at the time of the Trojan war, this country was already a province of the Assyrian empire. Priam, as we shall have occasion to see in the sequel, could have been no more than a satrap of the great

king, who was called king of Assyria on this side of the western Caucasus, and king of Iran in his vast domains beyond that ridge of mountains. Hence the destruction of the city of Troy was an act of hostility committed against the great monarch of Asia; and accordingly, some historians have traced the ancient enmity which existed between the Greeks and the Persians, to the Trojan war, and to the fall of Ilion. (Herodot. L. 1. c. 4. Plato de Leg. L. 3.)

When the Medes, 748 years before the Christian æra, threw off the yoke of the Assyrians, their example was followed by the inhabitants of Asia Minor. But these last could have little enjoyed their independence. Their country appears to have been disturbed by perpetual wars; to have been torn and lacerated by internal quarrels; and to have been unable to resist the incursions of foreign enemies. The admirers of romance may read and believe the story of Candaules and Gyges; but if indeed a descendant of the Heraclidæ reigned over Lydia, it is difficult to imagine that the sceptre passed without bloodshed out of the hands of

that powerful family. This revolution took place 33 years after the liberation of the Medes. The new dynasty soon became engaged in various wars, which were interrupted by the invasion of the Scythians, but which seem only to have been suspended during the time that those northern barbarians occupied the Upper Asia. When, about 143 years after the elevation of his dynasty to the throne, Crœsus extended his kingdom from the Hellespont to the river Halys, the inhabitants of the Lower Asia might have reasonably hoped to have seen a powerful and independent empire established under the authority of a native sovereign. But the fate of the unfortunate Crœsus is known to every one. His reign lasted for only 14 years. Asia Minor was subdued by the arms of Cyrus; and this garden of the world, from his time to the present, has been governed by strangers, and cultivated by slaves.

CHAPTER II.

Of Cilicia.

Cilicia was separated from Syria by the high mountains of Aman; from Cappadocia and Isauria by the yet loftier summits of Taurus; from Pamphylia by the river Melas; and from the island of Cyprus by an arm of the Mediterranean sea.

Strabo has divided this country into two districts, the rough, or hilly, and the plain (L. 14.); but Ptolemy designates the latter by the name of Cilicia Proper. Neither are these geographers agreed about the limits to be assigned to the two provinces. According to Strabo, the promontory of Coryeus was situate in Cilicia Tracheia; while, according to Ptolemy (L. 5.), it was placed immediately within the limits of

Cilicia Proper, denominated Cilicia Campestris by most other writers. I am disposed to consider this promontory as forming the boundary between the two districts, as it appears from its situation to be the natural limit to both; and as the country which lies to the east of Corycus, and which was called Campestris, is much less hilly than that which is situate to the west, and which was designated as Tracheia, or Aspera.

It is remarkable that neither Pomponius Mela, nor Pliny, speaks of these divisions of Cilicia. I ought here to observe that it is on the authority of Pliny (I. 5.) that I have mentioned the river Melas as forming the boundary between Cilicia and Pamphylia. Strabo assigns this river to the latter province, and names Coracesium as the frontier place of Cilicia; in which statement he has been followed by Ptolemy, who writes the name (*Κορακήσιον*) Coracesium. But it is surely more probable that the division between the two provinces was marked out by a considerable river, than that it should have been fixed at Coracesium, without any reference to a natural boundary by

either rivers or mountains. It is indeed said by Strabo that Coracesium was a castle (φρούριον) situated on a steep rock; but the western limit of the province seems to be best defined by the course of the river Melas; and Pliny's statement authorises us to believe that this was really the boundary which separated Cilicia from Pamphylia.

According to Herodotus (L. 5. c. 91.), the inhabitants of Cilicia were anciently called Hypochæans; but were denominated Cilicians in the sequel, after Cilix, the son of Agenor. Apollodorus (L. 3.) says that Cilix invaded and subdued the region adjacent to the river Pyramus, and called it after himself Cilicia. But this Cilix was the grandson of Neptune, the brother of Cadmus and Europa, and the contemporary of Danaus, Minos, and Deucalion. He lived (if indeed he lived at all) in an age of which the traditions of the Greeks report nothing but extravagant fables. It seems to me more probable that Cilicia, though occupied in the sequel, first by Scythians, and afterwards by Greeks, was originally peopled by Syrians

or Phœnicians, and that its name is derived from their language. Bochart refers it to the Hebrew חלקים *chalikim, lapides;* and shows the soil to have been in fact extremely stony, from citations which he makes from ancient authors.

The province of Cilicia contained many places which, in different ways, have acquired celebrity. There were two passages, or defiles, by which travellers entered this country from Syria. One of these the Greeks called *Ἀμανίδες πύλαι, Amanides portæ;* the other was named the Syrian, or sometimes the Cilician, gates. The former defile appears to have been situated in the interior, among the ridges of the mountains of Aman. The latter was closer to the sea, and extended along the shore of the bay of Issus. According to some writers there was a third defile. These gates of Aman and Syria have been rendered famous by the marches of Alexander and Darius, for an account of which I refer the reader to Curtius and Arrian. (Curtius, L. 3. Arrian, L. 2.)

The mountain of Aman was probably so denominated from the god called Aman, or Oman,

who was worshipped by the Persians and Cappadocians. (Strabo L. 11. and L. 15.) To this deity the mountain may have been dedicated. I can only offer this conjecture as the most probable which occurs to me. Lucan (L. 3.) appears to have meant the mountain, and not the god, when he said, *Cappadoces, duri populus non cultor Amani;* and yet, if it were not for Strabo's evidence, we might conclude the reverse to have been the poet's meaning.

The city of Issus, near which Alexander defeated Darius, was situate at the foot of Mount Aman. Strabo (L. 14.) speaks of it as of a small town; but Xenophon, in the Anabasis, calls it a great and opulent city. What might have been the original name, which the Greeks corrupted into Issos, or Issoi (for Xenophon gives it the plural form), I am unable to say. Perhaps it may have been derived from יצא, which word I should write in Roman characters *itsa*, for I hold the Masoretic punctuation to be of no authority. Now the verb *itsa* signifies *exivit;* and as the city of Issus was placed near

to the Syrian gates, its denomination may have related to its situation. When a Syrian *went out* of his own country into Asia Minor, he arrived first at Issos. Thus it is not improbable that the name may have been derived from the verb, which signifies *going forth*. The more ancient names of places in Asia Minor were all of Asiatic origin, while those of later date were generally Greek. It is, however, difficult in some instances to determine to what dialect of Asia some of the ancient names are to be referred, because the inhabitants were descended from so many various tribes. Emigrants, indeed, from different countries of Asia, from the banks of the Indus and the Jaxartes to the western limits of Palestine, seem to have been assembled to form the original population of the Lower Asia.

The city of Issos was situate near the mouth of the river, which the Greeks called Pinaros. But this name seems to be nothing else than פי־נהר, *Pi-nahar* (or, as some would write, *Pi-naar*), which signifies *the mouth of the river*.

The Greeks, with their usual want of accuracy, fancied that *Pi-nahar* was the proper name of the stream.

The river called Pyramus by the Greeks, and *Gihan* (جيحان) by the modern Turks, joins the sea about 20 miles to the west of Issus. This stream is one of the most considerable of Asia Minor. About 28 miles from the mouth of the Pyramus stood the ancient metropolitan city, which is named Anazarbus by Hierocles. It is said by Stephanus Byzantius to have received this name either from a neighbouring mountain, or from its founder; but the river, on the banks of which the city was situated, had its source among the mountains, and was, and is called, *Ain Zarbeh* (عين زربه), the golden, or yellow fountain, by the inhabitants; and "from the stream the city evidently received its denomination, which the Greeks pronounced *Anazarbos*. Procopius and Cedrenus mention that this city was overthrown by an earthquake.

Still advancing towards the west, and along the southern shore of Cilicia, we come to the mouth of the large river called *Saros* by the

Greeks, but denominated *Sihan* (سیحان) by the Turks. At the distance of four leagues from the shore, and on the banks of this stream, stood the city of *Adana*. The river has its source in Armenia; and I am inclined to derive the name from the Persian شار, *shar*, which signifies, in one sense at least, eddying water, a torrent. But the city, which was situated in Cilicia, was probably built by Syrians or Phœnicians, and its name appears to have been עדן, *Adan*, or *Eden*, so called from the amenity of the place and the beauty of the situation. (See Captain Beaufort's description of Adana.)

Let us now proceed, always following the same course, to the banks of the river Cydnus, which, gliding through the plain, and now known by the name of *Kara su* (Black water), passes near to Tarsus, through the middle of which city it formerly ran. Ptolemy places Tarsus among those cities which belonged to the inland part of Cilicia Campestris; and Pliny says that it stood at a distance from the sea. According to Strabo, indeed, Tarsus was situated at the distance of only five stadia from

the mouth of the Cydnus. Cellarius, however, proposes to read πεντήκοντα, fifty, for πέντε, five; and the emendation is clearly right; since I see from the itinerary of a French traveller, published only ten years ago, that the distance of the city from the sea amounts to two leagues.

Strabo says that Tarsus was founded by an Argive colony, that went with Triptolemus in search of Io. These Argives cannot be considered as the same with the Achæans, or Hypachæans, who, according to Herodotus, settled in Cilicia before the arrival of Cilix in that country; though I have no doubt that this was the meaning of Strabo, who contends (L. 8.) that, according to Homer, the Argives and Achæans were the same people, and who says that the latter were descendants from Achæus, who settled in the Peloponnesus. There were two princes of the name of Achæus. The first, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (L. 1.), was the son of Neptune and the brother of Pelasgus. The second was the son of Xuthus, and the brother of Ion; and, with the exception of Dionysius, all Greek writers, as far as I

know, are agreed that the Achæans were so called after the son of Xuthus. But Cilix must have flourished at least 120 years before this Achæus was born. It is clear, therefore, that it was not from the descendants of the son of Xuthus that Cilix wrested the dominion of the country. Neither is there any reason to suppose that they sprang from the brother of Pelasgus, who is said to have settled in Thessaly. We must consequently endeavour to find some other origin for these Hypachæans, or Achæans, than that which is assigned to them by the Greeks. The account given by Strabo is utterly improbable. Io, the daughter of Inachus, must have lived more than 18 centuries before our æra. Now, according to the Parian marbles, Triptolemus quitted Eleusis only 1409 years before the same epoch; and even putting aside this anachronism, what credit can be given to a story in which two fabulous personages, such as Io and Triptolemus, are made to play the principal parts? If any Argives, who had gone in search of Io, settled on the banks of the Cydnus, they could not have been either

Achæans, or Hypachæans; and yet, as we are assured by Strabo himself that the neighbouring town of Soloi was founded by Achæans, and as Greek writers frequently confound the *Argeioi* and the *Achaioi*, it is not unlikely that the great geographer meant to speak of Achæans, called Hypachæans by Herodotus, in the passage before us. But he seems to have got entangled in the fable of Io, and in the allegorical story of Triptolemus, and thus has most inconsiderately sent an Argive colony from Eleusis to accompany the son of Celeus, king of Attica, in search of the daughter of Inachus, who had fled from Argos, in the shape of a cow, 400 years before he was born. I shall have occasion to show presently, who were really the *Achaioi* and the *Hypachaioi* who had settled in Asia Minor.

The origin of the name of Tarsos, as given by Dionysius Periegetes, is so singular, that it ought not to be forgotten; and affords no bad specimen of the dauntless effrontery of the Greeks in tracing foreign names to their own language. Ταρσὸς, *tarsos*, signifies the bone of

the hand, or foot, and may be consequently put by synecdoche for either the one or the other. In taking advantage of this figure of speech, thus sings Periegetes :

Κύδνου τε σκολιοῖο μέσην διὰ Ταρὸὸν ἰόντος,
Ταρσὸν ἐϋκτιμένην, ὅθι δή ποτε Πήγασος ἵππος
Ταρσὸν ἀφεὶς, χώρῳ λίπεν οὔνομα, τῆμος ἀφ' ἵππου
Ἐς Διὸς ἱέμενος πέσεν ἥρως Βελλεροφόντης.

Whence we learn that Tarsus was so called, because it was there that the horse Pegasus left his hoof (his *tarsos*) when Bellerophon fell from him.

But although I have rejected the tradition reported by Strabo, I by no means pretend to deny that a Greek colony had been established, perhaps even from remote times, at Tarsus. Grecian philosophy appears to have flourished there; and Strabo mentions some of the distinguished men who were natives of the place. Immediately after the time of this geographer, the great apostle of the Gentiles was born at Tarsus.

Some writers have thought that St. Paul was inconsistent in his statements, when in one place

he called himself a Jew of Tarsus, and in another asserted that he was born a Roman, and claimed the protection of the Roman laws. It is argued that no proof exists of the people of Tarsus having had the rights of a Roman colony until long after the time of the apostle. The coins of that city, it is said, do not authorise us to conclude that its inhabitants were enrolled as Roman colonists before the time of Caracalla. The privileges, or the penalties, annexed to the reception of the Julian law, had been confined to Italy; and the inhabitants of the remote provinces did not generally share the rights of Roman citizens until the reign of Antoninus Pius. But although Tarsus might not have boasted either colonial or municipal rights, yet it surely does not follow that a native of the place may not have been also a Roman citizen. Suetonius mentions that many strangers, professors of the liberal arts and teachers of the sciences, were made Roman citizens by Cæsar. The people of Tarsus were so attached to this great man, that they changed the name of their city, as Dio Cassius assures us, to Julio-

polis. Cæsar may have bestowed the rank of Roman citizen on many persons belonging to Tarsus. This rank, we are told by Roman lawyers (see the Institutes of Caius), might be conveyed by inheritance, or even by will; and thus Paul, though a Jew by birth, may have inherited the right which he claimed, and have justly invoked the protection of the Portian law.

Some modern writers, and Calmet among others, have supposed Tarsus to have been the same with the Tarshish (תרשיש) of which frequent mention is made in the Hebrew Scriptures. But this conjecture cannot bear examination. Neither is it so easy, as some have thought, to determine the signification of Tarshish. Bishop Lowth says, in one of his notes to Isaiah, that *ships of Tarshish are in Scripture frequently used by a metonymy for ships in general.* This would be rather a singular use of the rhetorical figure. *The learned seem now,* says the same prelate, *to be perfectly well agreed that Tarshish is Tartessus, a city of Spain.* Such is, no doubt, the opinion of Bochart, Huet, and Mi-

chaelis; but I confess myself to be little satisfied with the reasons which they give for holding that opinion. In fact their arguments are contained in the two following positions:—a resemblance may be found, or fancied, between the names of Tarshish and Tartessus;—the Phœnicians carried on an extensive and lucrative commerce with the southern provinces of the Spanish peninsula. But Solomon had a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram king of Tyre. (1 Kings x.) If Tarshish and Tartessus had been the same, it cannot be questioned that these navies never went out of the Mediterranean, or at least beyond Cadiz. They of course sailed from Tyre, or from Joppa, or from some other port on the same coast. How then shall we account for their absence during three years, every time they made this voyage, since it might have been easily accomplished in three months?

When Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah joined together to send ships to Tarshish, they caused those ships to be built at Atsion-Geber on the Red sea. Now wherefore did these kings

choose Atsion-Geber as the port from which their fleet was to sail, if Tarshish had been a city of Spain? Why did they not cause their ships to be constructed at Joppa? Why did they propose to send their fleet round Africa, when its course might have been confined to the Mediterranean? (2 Chron. xxii.)

Neither the Greek nor the Latin translators of the Bible suspected that Tarshish might be Tartessus. Eusebius was the first who suggested this idea.

It is remarkable that the LXX and Jerom have, in two or three instances, rendered Tarshish by Carthage. The author of the Targum, probably from not having any clear ideas on the subject, has rendered the same name by Africa. Of this last vague interpretation it is unnecessary to speak; and with regard to Carthage, the same objections may be made as have been already urged with regard to Tartessus. The fleet of Solomon could hardly have employed three years in making a voyage to Carthage; and the kings of Judah and Israel would not have sent their ships round the Cape of Good

Hope to find their way to that city, when the ports of Ake and Joppa were in their immediate vicinity. The Greek and Latin translators had besides forgotten that Isaiah (c. xxiii.) has called Tyre *the daughter of Tarshish*. Tyre could not have been named by that prophet the daughter of Carthage. Carthage was the daughter, and Tyre the mother. Every one knows that Carthage was built by a Tyrian colony.

Bishop Lowth, indeed, in contending that Tarshish was the same as the Spanish Tartessus, maintains that Tyre might have been called the daughter of Tartessus. If his argument with regard to this last city be well founded, my objection, with regard to the same denomination being given to Carthage, is clearly wrong. If Tyre could be called the daughter of Tartessus, which, as Arrian states, was founded by a Phœnician colony, Carthage might equally claim the title of metropolis from the inhabitants of Tyre. The Bishop says, *perhaps because Tyre being ruined, Tarshish* (by which he understands the Spanish Tartessus) *was become the superior*

city, and might be considered as the metropolis of the Tyrian people. But this opinion appears to me to be untenable. Isaiah calls Tyre *the daughter of Tsidon.* Who has ever imagined from this that Tyre could be the metropolis of the Tsidonians? Every one must conclude just the reverse, and consider Tyre as the colony, and Tsidon as the mother-city. How then could the learned prelate infer that the Tyrians could consider Tartessus, a colonial city, as their metrópolis? Isaiah calls Tyre the daughter of Tarshish, and for that very reason I should say that Tarshish could not have been the same as the Spanish Tartessus, which was built by a colony from Phœnicia.

Josephus thought that the Cilician Tarsus was the Tarshish of the sacred writers. Michaelis gravely objects to this supposition, that Jonah would not have proposed to have gone thither, if such had been the truth, since it was that prophet's intention to go as far as he could from Nineveh. I pretend not to question the facts recorded in the book of Jonah; but it may be allowable to say, that the language of that

book is very obscure, and that it is very difficult to determine from it what might, or what might not, have been the situation of Tarshish. The opinion of Josephus is evidently erroneous, and may be safely rejected without the assistance of Jonah.

According to M. Gosselin, in his learned work on ancient geography, the word *tarshish* indicates no country or city whatever, but invariably and uniformly signifies the sea, in all the various passages to which I have already alluded. This word, he admits, is used once in the book of Exodus to denote a precious stone; but he seems to think that it was so called metaphorically from its colour, which resembled that of the sea. He quotes the following words from Jerom :—*pro THARSIS, quod omnes similiter transtulerunt, soli LXX mare interpretati sunt. Hebræi putant linguâ propriè suâ mare THARSIS appellari; quando autem dicitur IAM, non Hebraico sermone appellari, sed Syriaco: melius autem est THARSIS, vel mare, vel pelagus absolute accipere.* There is no doubt that the LXX, and Jerom himself, have occasionally

understood Tarshish, or Tharsis, to signify the sea; but no translator has, or perhaps could, have followed the rule prescribed by Jerom; and he himself has deviated from it, as well as the Greek translators. M. Gosselin has laid too much stress on this passage, which seems to have been written without due consideration. Had תרשיש, *tarshish*, been the proper, genuine, and original Hebrew word for the sea, it would have been used in that sense in the Pentateuch; and the word ים, *yam*, had it not been adopted until after the Exode, could of course never have appeared in the writings of Moses. But the reverse is the case. The word *yam* is employed in the Pentateuch to signify the sea; and the word *tarshish* occurs only as the proper name of a man in one instance, and as the name of a precious stone in another. So far, indeed, from considering *tarshish* as originally a Hebrew word, I should without hesitation say that it was an exotic. We have, however, no dispute here about its meaning in the Pentateuch. It is in later compositions that the word occurs in the sense which Jerom attri-

butes to it. Thus in Psalm xlviii. we hear of *the ships of Tarshish*; and in Psalm lxxi. of *the kings of Tarshish and of the isles.* Here, it is contended, Tarshish means the sea; and the interpretation in these instances seems to be plausible; but I cannot so easily admit it in other examples. We can hardly, I think, substitute *the sea* for Tarshish, when Jeremiah says (c. x.), *Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz*—when we read, *for the king's ships went to Tarshish.* (2 Chron. ix.) But this meaning of the word would be still more extraordinary, if we were to adopt it in the following passage: *For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish.* (1 Kings, x.) The pleonasm would be intolerable—*For the king had at sea a navy of the sea.* M. Gosselin, it is true, fancies that he has conquered the difficulty by translating, *quia navis marina erat regi in mari.* How far this helps the matter I shall leave others to determine. But it is time to return to the shores of Cilicia, from which we have perhaps been already absent too long.

Not far from the mouth of the Cydnus, but

to the west of that river, was situated the city of Soloi, to which the inhabitants afterwards gave the name of Pompeiopolis, in honour of Pompey the Great. It was founded, according to Strabo, by Achæans, and Rhodians of Lindus.

Thus we again hear of Achæans, considered as Greeks, settling in Asia Minor; and yet I know not how, in any instance, this statement can be reconciled with the general tenor of history. The Achæans, who had established themselves in Argos, were driven out of that country by the Heraclidæ, about 80 years after the Trojan war, and took refuge in Ionia, whence they finally expelled the native Ionians, who emigrated from Greece, and fixed their abode on the coast of Asia. But there is no historical or descriptive account of any emigration of the Achæans (except in one instance) from Europe. Neither does it appear that the existence of this race can be traced before the fourteenth century before the Christian æra; unless we suppose them descendants of the brother of Pelasgus, and not of the son of Xu-

thus. Be this as it may, this family could not have been very numerous when they were expelled from the Peloponnesus, since the Ionians, whom they afterwards treated so ungratefully, received them without hesitation. They had indeed already extended their possessions to Thrace, Bœotia, and Thessaly; and thus they were so widely spread, that if we trace their origin to the age of the second Pelasgus, rather more than five centuries before their expulsion from Argos, we can hardly suppose them to have found it necessary from their numbers to send colonies from Greece into Asia. Neither do we hear (except in the single instance which I shall soon have occasion to notice) that they sent any colonies beyond the seas. It is difficult, then, to understand why the Greeks, who never inform us, with the exception just alluded to, that the Achæans sent colonies out of Greece into Asia, should yet so often speak as if this had really been the case. Ancient writers make mention of a city in the island of Rhodes called Achæa (*Diodor. Sicul. L.* 5.)—of another city bearing the same

name in Syria (*Appian in Syriacis*)—of an Achæa in Parthia (*Appian ibid.*)—of another in Aria (*Strabo L.* 11. 516.)—of Acheium, opposite to the isle of Tenedos, in the Troad (*Strabo L.* 13.) —of Achæa, near to the Cimmerian Bosphorus (*Ptolemy*)—of a colony of Thessalians, or Orchomenians (that to which I have alluded), which settled in Pontus: these colonists were also called Achaioi (*Strabo L.* 9.)—of the *Portus Achæorum* in the Troad, into which the Xanthus ran. (*Plin. L.* 9.)

The silence of the Greeks on the subject is surely very strange. They tell us nothing of the manner in which the Achæans, who are supposed to have emigrated from Greece, obtained possession of so many towns and districts in Asia; and their silence is the more remarkable, that they have not left us ignorant of the emigrations of the Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians, who settled in that country.

By the Achaioi, ancient writers seem always to have understood a people of Grecian origin. Homer generally indicates all the Greeks by this name. Writers of later times have fre-

quently spoken of the Achæans and Argives as the same people. Thus, in the instance before us, Pomponius Mela, who of course took his lesson from his Grecian masters, says that Soloi had formerly belonged to the Argives and Rhodians; and he clearly understood the same people by Argives as Strabo did by Achæans. But although Homer uses the denomination of Achaioi as a general appellation for all the Greeks, and indeed apparently identifies the Achaioi with the Danaoi and Argeioi, yet he seems to have done this in compliment to his hero; for, strictly speaking, he gives the name of Achaioi only to the countrymen of Achilles:

Νῦν δ' αὖ τοὺς, ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον,
Οἵ τ' Ἄλον, οἵ τ' Ἀλόπην, οἵ τε Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο,
Οἵ τ' εἶχον Φθίην, ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο, καὶ Ἕλληνες, καὶ Ἀχαιοί·
Τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.

Il. B. 681.

Thus it is clear that the appellation of Achaioi properly belonged to the inhabitants of the Pelasgic Argos, in which were situated the districts of Hellas and Phthia. Strabo (L. 5.) has

described the situation of the Pelasgic Argos, which may be called the Thessalian, in opposition to the Peloponnesian Argos. Now it is to be observed that Homer, when he speaks of the Peloponnesian Argos, calls it simply Argos; and that, while he identifies Hellas with the Pelasgic Argos, and Hellas with Achaia, he distinguishes between Achaia and Argos, meaning by this last the Peloponnesian Argos. We find Hellas, *with its fair dames* (Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα), appertaining to the Pelasgic Argos; but a distinction is as clearly drawn between Achaia, *with its fair dames*, and the Peloponnesian Argos. Thus Paris (L. 3.) anticipates the return of all the Greeks:

Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιΐδα καλλιγύναικα.

The later Greek writers obtained their knowledge of the antiquities of their country chiefly, if not entirely, from the poets and mythologists of more early ages. The general propensity of mankind is rather to believe than to doubt; and with regard to the early history of Greece, many figments have been, and still are, received

by popular credulity as unquestionable facts. Among the less flagrant of these figments, we may reckon that very common one of attributing the origin of a nation to an individual. When the mythologists knew not how to account otherwise for the name which a people bore, they feigned the existence of some prince, or leader, from whom that people were descended, and who adopted his name. Thus Pelasgus and Achæus, if we believe Dionysius of Halicarnassus, were sons of the god Neptune; and truly we are to take it for a fact that the Pelasgi and Achæans were descended from those two brothers.

We are told by Strabo (L. 8.) that the Argives and Spartans were called Achæans from Achæus, who sought refuge in the Peloponnesus. Pausanias (L. 7.) says that the same people had received the denomination of Achæans from the sons of Achæus, who had established themselves in that peninsula. But the disagreement of dates makes it impossible to reconcile the statements of these authors in any manner with the testimony given by Homer, who places

the country of the Achæans, properly so called, at the time of the Trojan war, beyond the isthmus. It becomes then questionable, whether these Achæans had any possessions in the Peloponnesus before the war of Troy. But it is said, and on the great authority of Thucydides, that 80 years after that war the Heraclidæ returned to the Peloponnesus, whence they expelled the Achæans. This, however, might have very easily happened, and probably did happen, though the dominion of the Achæans in the country had not been of long duration. Orestes dethroned the usurper Ægistheus, and recovered the kingdom of Argos, by the aid of the Achæans and Phocians; and when his son Tisamenus was defeated by the Heraclidæ, he took refuge in Achaia. These princes had consequently reigned over Argos by means of the Achæans; and thus the Achæans, who really held possession of the Peloponnesus under the two last of the Atridæ, were expelled from that country when the son of Orestes was driven from it by the descendants of Hercules.

Trusting, then, to the authority of Homer, I conclude that the Achæans, to whom that name properly belonged (I beg that this distinction may be remarked), still dwelt beyond the isthmus in the Trojan times. They afterwards aided Orestes to regain the throne of Argos, and obtained under that prince, whose rights and authority they sustained, the settlements which they held in the Peloponnesian peninsula, until the Heraclidæ, after several fruitless efforts, at length succeeded in reconquering that country.

I consider it as a strong confirmation of the statement which I have been making, that it was not until after the war of Troy that the Greeks in general came to be denominated Hellenes, and their language Hellenic. (Thucyd. L. 1. c. 3.) The second Achæus was the son of Xuthus, the son of Hellen. Hence the Achaioi, who inhabited Phthiotis, were also called Hellenes, and were the first who bore that name (Thucyd. ibid.); and accordingly, those who accompanied Achilles from Phthiotis are always denominated either Achaioi or Hel-

lenes by Homer. The Greeks in general were not known by these names until after the Trojan war; and perhaps not even then, until the great poet, in honour of his hero, identified, at least in general terms, the Danaoi and the Argeioi of the Peloponnesus with the countrymen of Achilles.

It seems difficult, in these circumstances, to understand how the Achæans, or Hypachæans, considered as of Greek extraction, could have been established in Cilicia before the time of Cilix, more than three centuries before the fall of Ilium. There may then be reason to suspect that the Achæans, of whom we hear in Asia, were really foreigners, who were neither Greeks, nor descended from Greeks. I am, indeed, inclined to carry my scepticism still further: I consider it as not improbable, that not only the Achaioi of Asia Minor, but those of Greece, were originally strangers.

The first settlements of the Achaioi in Greece appear to me to have been in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (L. 1:) says that Achæus, Phthios, and Pelas-

gos, sons of Neptune and Larissa, established a colony in Thessaly. The existence of these sons of Neptune may well be questioned; but it may not be the less true that Thessaly was occupied in remote ages by tribes called Achaioi, Phthiotæ, and Pelasgoi. But I can by no means admit that these tribes came from the Peloponnesus. We might as well call them *autochthones* at once. Neither can I adopt the opinion of those who hold that their first colonies settled in Thessaly. I am more disposed to believe that they must have possessed Thrace and Macedonia, before they occupied the Thessalian territory. The Pelasgi, I think, were originally Scythians. The North, unable to supply its redundant population with the means of existence, has often poured forth its myriads to seek for new establishments in more fertile regions and in warmer climes. Wars frequently broke out among the wandering multitudes, that disputed with each other the possession of the less sterile parts of the Scythian deserts; and thus vast hordes of barbarians, driven from their ancient habitations by others more powerful than

themselves, invaded the territories of neighbouring states, of which they frequently obtained the permanent possession. This appears to have been the case with the Pelasgi. They were probably compelled, like the Parthians, to quit their country by some of those convulsions, which were so often occasioned by the disastrous wars which took place between the two rival kingdoms of Iran and Turan, as well as by the dissensions which arose among themselves. The name of Pelasgi is idly traced by Greek writers to different princes who were called Pelasgus. The first who bore that appellation was the son of Jupiter and Niobe; the second was the son of Neptune and Larissa. Let those who will, believe in such fables. The name of Pelasgi was probably altered from its original form, when the language of Greece began to receive that polish for which it afterwards became so celebrated. Strabo (L. 5.) says that it is related by the Athenian historians, that the Pelasgi were anciently called *Pelargoi* (*storks*), from their wandering like those birds. Now the Athenians may have been more nearly

right here than they themselves suspected. With their usual vanity and levity, they made the name answer to a word in their own language. Πελαργοὶ, *Pelargoi*, however, may originally have been nothing else than the Persian (and probably the Scythian) word پلارغوان, *Pelargoan*, *fugitives*. But although the Pelasgi might have acknowledged themselves to be fugitives, yet they might also have desired to distinguish themselves by a more noble name. Some of the most warlike of their tribes may have even rejected the humiliating appellation. I am almost tempted to think that those whose name was Hellenised into Ἀχαιοὶ, *Achaioi*, were originally called اکایان, *Akaian*, lords, or rulers. Herodotus (L. 4. c. 56.) gives the epithet of *royal* to one of the Scythian tribes.

There can be no doubt that the Pelasgi had settled in Asia Minor before the Trojan war. (Il. *B.* 840.) We can scarcely question the establishment of some Achæan tribes in the same country, in times equally, or still more remote. According to Strabo, the city of Soloi was founded by a colony from Achaia in the

island of Rhodes; and this Achaia must have been built at a very early period, since Diodorus Siculus (L. 5.) attributes its foundation to the children of the sun.

Now if we admit that these Pelasgi and Achæans were originally Scythians, who established themselves in various parts of Greece and of Asia Minor, and some of whose colonies settled in the Greek islands and in Italy, we shall, I think, be able to clear up some difficulties which seem to be otherwise incapable of explanation. I shall have occasion, in another place, to speak again of the Pelasgi; but how, I would ask, are we to account for the establishment of the Achæans in Cilicia, before the time of Cilix, unless we suppose them to have been of Asiatic, and not of Greek origin? The fabulous personage, called Achæus, may be considered as the mythological representative of the Achæans; and as he is said to have been the son of Neptune and Larissa, and the brother of Pelasgus, we may conclude the meaning to be, that the Achæan colony which settled in Thessaly came from Larissa, which Homer

indeed indicates to have been the country of Hippothous, the leader of the Pelasgi, who fought against the Greeks at the siege of Troy. (Il. *B.* 840. *P.* 301.) But the induction surely is, that the Pelasgi and Achæans came from Asia into Greece. Now it would be difficult to assign any other than a Scythian origin to these Achæans, who must have been wanderers, and whose colonies we find settled in so many places remote from each other. A curious, but a convincing proof of the northern origin of the Achæans may be found in Pausanias. The following is a translation of the passage to which I allude:—*They say that the wild olive was brought into Greece by Hercules from the land of the Hyperboreans, who are men that dwell beyond the wind Boreas. Olen the Lycian is the first who says, in a hymn which he made in honour of Achaïa, that Achaïa came to Delos from these Hyperboreans.* (L. 5. c. 7.) The intercourse between the Delians and the Hyperboreans is described by Herodotus (L. 4. c. 33.); and it might almost be suspected, from the statement of that historian, that all the deities of Delos

were of northern origin. Olen, the Lycian poet, likewise referred to by Herodotus, was more ancient than Orpheus; and he pretended that the oracle of Delphi was originally established by Hyperborean strangers. (Pausan. L. 10. c. 5.) With regard to the Hyperborean Achaïïa, or Achaia, who came to Delos, and in whose honour Olen composed a hymn, I should suppose her to have been the same with Ceres, one of whose names was Achaia, and whom Plutarch idly fancied to have been so called from her lamentations. (Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.) The name of Achaia is however clearly of northern origin. Nothing can be more vague than the signification given to the word Hyperborean. It really means no more than northern; and hence I scruple not to consider the name of Achaia as originally Scythian. Olen, the most ancient of Greek writers, probably gave the appellation of Hyperboreans to the nations dwelling beyond Thrace.

On the whole then I am disposed to think that the Achæioi, or Hypachaioi, who had established themselves in Cilicia, were of Scythian

origin. Greek adventurers may have settled, in later times, in different parts of the same province. Those Greeks who fixed themselves at Soloi, were probably Dorians, since the Lindians, who are said by Strabo to have contributed to build the city (L. 14.), were, according to Herodotus (L. 1.), of Dorian extraction.

The inhabitants of Soloi are reported to have spoken barbarous Greek; but it does not clearly appear whether it were the Cilician or the Cyprian city which was implicated in this reproach. Diogenes Laertius (in Vita Solonis), and Strabo (L. 14.), seem uncertain upon this point; and Suidas states the question, without deciding it. Perhaps both cities were equally inculpated. Be this as it may, solecism became synonymous with barbarism. The etymology is easily traced—Σόλοι—Σόλοικοι—σολοικίζειν—σολοικισμός. Hesychius says a solecism exists, ὅτε τις ἀτέχνως διαλέγεται—when any one speaks inartificially, that is, inaccurately—ungrammatically—unlearnedly. It appears, however, that some of the citizens of Soloi distinguished themselves by their writings. Among these we

may reckon the astronomer and poet, Aratus. His prognostics concerning the weather are probably as much to be trusted to as any modern composition on the same subject.

The ruins of Soloi still exist; and the remains of a colonnade, an aqueduct, and a theatre, may yet be distinctly traced on its now deserted site. According to some English travellers, the Turks give the name of *Mezetlu* to this solitary place. As the word is thus written in Roman characters, I am unable to explain its meaning.

It was probably on the shore, between Tarsus and Soloi, that was situated Anchiale; which city, according to Strabo, was built by Sardanapalus. Stephanus Byzantinus, however, says that it was founded by Anchiale, the daughter of Iapetus. Some modern writers have thought that Anchiale was situated at the mouth of the Cydnus; but it appears from Ptolemy that it was built on the banks of a stream, after which it was named Anchiale.

Those authors, and they are numerous, who agree with Strabo in supposing both Tarsus and

Anchiale to have been built by Sardanapalus, seem to rest their opinion on the authority of a Chaldean inscription, which was said to have been found in the last named city on the tomb of that monarch, and which existed in the time of Alexander the Great. (Arrian, L. 2.) It may, however, be well questioned, whether the inscription belonged to a tomb, and whether the Greeks rightly understood it. According to Amyntas the geographer, the tomb of Sardanapalus was situated near to one of the gates of Nineveh; and three Greek versions of the Chaldaic epitaph of Sardanapalus inscribed on that tomb have been preserved by Athenæus. The inscription at Anchiale, as given in the Greek translation by Arrian and Strabo, bears the following signification: *Sardanapalus, the son of Anakundarax, built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day. Do thou, stranger, eat, drink, and make love.* This last sentence was probably added by some Greek, who had heard of the epitaph at Nineveh. But it seems impossible to attribute authenticity to any thing so insane as the language of that pretended epitaph at Nineveh, in which the As-

syrian monarch is made to say, that the sole object of his life had been to indulge in gluttony, ebriety, and debauchery. During the two last years of his life Sardanapalus fought at the head of his army against the Medes; and, when at length he found his fall inevitable, he perished in the flames of his own palace, to which he himself had set fire. We can scarcely believe then that his tomb was discovered by the Greeks near to one of the gates of Nineveh; and we may consider the epitaph, said to have been found on that sepulchral monument, as a satire against him, invented by his enemies. I observe that Tzetzes, in speaking of this inscription, calls it not an epitaph, but an epigram. It is totally incredible that the tomb of Sardanapalus existed at Anchiale. The Greeks may have found there an image of that monarch, as is stated both by Strabo and by Arrian, with an inscription; but these same Greeks probably added some words in their own language to the inscription; and plainly mistook the meaning of the few oriental words which they did find. They have given the name of *Anakundaraxi* to the father of Sardanapalus; but

this preposterous name is nothing else than the combination of some Chaldaic words, which the Greek interpreter did not understand. Neither is it to be believed that Sardanapalus made the ridiculous vaunt of having built two cities in one day. I observe that the Latin translator of Arrian writes *condidit*, instead of *ædificavit*. This would make a very different story; but the Greek unfortunately requires the latter word.

The only writer, as far as I know, who has attempted to restore the Chaldaic of the inscription at Anchiale, is M. Fourmont. I shall examine that part of it which is intended as a restoration of the words, understood by the Greeks to signify that Sardanapalus, the son of Anakundarax, had built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day—Σαρδαναπάλος Ἀνακυνδαραξεω ὁ παις Ἀγχιαλην ἐδειμε και Ταρσον μιη ἡμερη. The learned Academician might indeed have well spared himself the trouble of putting the rest into Chaldaic, since the addition is most probably due to the invention of the Greeks themselves.

M. Fourmont's Chaldaic edition is as follows:

סרטן פול באנא קונדאאראס את החיעלם
ואת תרשישא ביומא חרא:

Sartan, Phul, ædificavit saltum torrentis, Anchialem et Tarsum, die unico.

סרטן פול (*Sartan Phul*) *c'est le nom Chaldaïque*, says M. Fourmont, *de Sardanapale*. I am not of this opinion. I know not what sense can be affixed to *sartan*. *Phul*, or *Pul*, is a corruption for פעל, *Paal*, or *Pol*, itself a corruption for בעל, *Baal*, which the Syrians pronounced *Bol*. Sardanapalus is a Greek corruption for a title assumed by the king of Assyria, and which resolves itself into the Chaldaic words *sar-dina-ha-baal*, or *sar-dana-ha-baal*, *the prince of justice*, or *the just prince*, *the lord* or *ruler*.

M. Fourmont says that the ב in *bana* alone might be taken for the abridgement of *ben, filius;* and thus *anakundarax* was believed to be the name of a man, and the father of Sardanapalus. But if the Greeks did not understand *bana* as the verb, there remains no trace in the Chaldaic of M. Fourmont to show where they could have

found the word which they translated by ἔδειμε, *ædificavit*.

We are told by Strabo, that *kuinda* was a fortress (ἔρυμα) near Anchiale. M. Fourmont says nothing of Strabo, and nothing of this fortress. He thinks that *kuinda* was a monument of Semiramis. I can find no authority for this supposition.[c] But his explanation of the word leaves the Assyrian queen out of the question. *Kunda*, says he, *en bon Syrien signifie saltus*. M. Fourmont then proceeds to say that the next word, which he renders by *torrens*, is the same from which comes the name of the river Araxes. He adds, *kunda, saltus, joint avec le terme de torrent, signifie arche de pont*. But *saltus torrentis* unfortunately signifies *the leap of a torrent*, and not *the leap of an arch*. There is no such word in Chaldaic as *ras* signifying a torrent; and we can have nothing to do here with the name of the Araxes, or with the Median word from which that name might have been derived. To speak plainly, it appears to me that M. Fourmont's attempt to restore the Chaldaic of the inscription is a total failure.

I am of opinion that the original inscription was as follows:

שרדאנאהבעלעינאקונדאארכאבנאבינאנניאלהותרשישביום
אחרא

I have endeavoured to write this inscription in the Chaldaic dialect. It is to be observed that the Greeks frequently changed *ain* and *aina* into *ana*. Thus they wrote *Anazarbos* for *Ain-zarbeh*—*Ana-bura* for *Ain-bura*. In the case before us, I have written *aina* for *ain*, because in Chaldaic the emphatic א has the same power when it follows a noun, as ה has in Hebrew when it precedes one. In other examples the א is placed after nouns as a frequent Chaldaic termination.

The Greeks, who translated this inscription into their own language, evidently mistook בנא, *bana* (or rather *bena* in Chaldaic), *ædificavit*, for בן, *ben*, *filius*; and the preposition בין, *bein*, or *bin*, *inter*, for the verb *bena*, which I have just mentioned. The first of these two mistakes led them into the error concerning the name, which they assigned to the supposed father of Sardanapalus, and of which there is not the slightest intimation in the

original. The second mistake led them into the yet stranger error of making Sardanapalus build two great cities in one day. I make the following division of the words of the inscription :—

שרדאנא הבעל עינא קונדא ארכא בנא בין אנגיאלה
ותרשיש ביומא חדא:

(The) *Śar-dana*, (prince of justice,) *the lord*, (or ruler,) *built* (or constructed) *the fountain of the long leap, between Anghiale and Tarshish, in one day*. It was probably from this fountain, near which it might have been situated, that the fortress, which Strabo calls *Kuinda*, took its name. *Kunda* is certainly, as M. Fourmont says, good Syriac, and I have no doubt is the word which stood in the inscription. *The fountain of the long leap* may sound harshly in English; but the sense, I should think, must be clear to every one. The words, of which the Greeks made the name of a man, *Anakundarax*, may be pronounced in Chaldaic, *aina kunda arecha*.

A few miles to the west of Soloi flowed the river which Ptolemy calls *Lamos*, and Strabo *Latmos;* and which the latter seems to have

considered as the boundary between Cilicia Trachea, and Cilicia Campestris.

Some writers think, and it was once my own opinion, that Mount Corycus was so named after the flower called *crocus*, of which the soil of Corycus was peculiarly prolific. But the flower may have received its name from the mountain, which produced it in such abundance. I suspect that the names of the mountains, rocks, and promontories, called *Cragos*, *Corycos*, *Corycesion*, by the Greeks, are of Scythian origin. It is admitted that Scythian tribes had settled in Cilicia; and there can be no doubt that the Celtic was originally a Scythian dialect. Now *crag*, in Celtic, signifies a rock, a precipice; and we use it in these senses in English. *Corrach*, in Gaëlic, is steep. In Irish *kroagan* signifies a rock. *Kreach*, in *Bas Breton*, signifies a hill. *Creaghen* is often used in Gaëlic to denote rocks.

The cave of Corycus has been much celebrated by Greek and Roman authors; and its wonders have been perhaps exaggerated. The account given of it by Pomponius Mela deserves notice. He says that the descent from the summit of the

mountain into the cavern amounted to ten stadia. He then proceeds as follows:

Tunc alte demissus, et quantum demittitur amplior, viret lucis pendentibus undique, et totum se nemoroso laterum orbe complectitur, adeo mirificus et pulcher, ut mentes accedentium primo adspectu consternat: ubi contemplati duravere, non satiet. Unus in eum descensus est, angustus, asper, quingentorum et mille passuum, per amœnas umbras, et opaca silvæ quiddam agreste resonantis, rivis hinc illinc fluitantibus. Ubi ad ima perventum est, rursus specus alius aperitur——ibi ingens amnis fronte se extollens, tantummodo se ostendit, et ubi magnum impetum brevi alveo traxit, iterum demersus absconditur. This singular and romantic spot, which might vie at once with the gardens of Adonis, and with the grottos of Mithras, was not neglected by Pagan superstition. A temple was erected to Jupiter; and the bed of Typhon was shown in a recess.

The river, called Calycadnus by the ancients, joins the sea about 50 miles to the south-west of Soloi. Seleucia, so named after Seleucus Nicator, was situate on its banks; and the ruins

of that city still exist at the distance of three leagues above the mouth of the river. It appears from Strabo that Seleucus brought the inhabitants of Holmos from their ancient residence to people his new city. Stephanus Byzantinus says that Seleucia was fomerly called Olbia and Hyria; but as he has elsewhere mentioned that Hyria was *near*, or *beside*, Seleucia, the inconsistency has been detected and censured by the critics. It has been further remarked that Olba was situate among the mountains above Soloi; and that therefore Stephanus has erred in giving the name of Olbia to the ancient habitation of the Seleucians, which, as Strabo states, was called Holmos. But on this point Stephanus may not have been so much mistaken as has been imagined. *Holmos* is probably a Greek corruption from a Phœnician name, which might have been עלי־מז, *Ol-mez*, a fortified height, or hill. There may have been various places of the same denomination; and the same place may have had different denominations. First, because the names were descriptive of localities; and secondly, because the inhabitants spoke more

than one dialect. Thus *ol*, a height, is not very dissimilar in signification from *har*, or *hyr*, or from *olb*. Cilicia, though perhaps originally inhabited by Leuco-Syrians and Phœnicians, was probably held for a considerable period under the dominion of some Scythian tribes, before the Greeks sent colonies into that province. The word *Hyria* (הריא) in Chaldaic, and probably in Phœnician, signified mountains. Now in Celtic, originally a dialect of Scythia, *alb* or *alp* also denoted mountains, or a mountainous ridge. It follows that Hyria and Olbia bore nearly the same meaning as Holmos; and in the dialects, spoken by the descendants of the Phœnicians, Syrians, and Scythians, the three names may have indicated the same localities. These names may have been also given to other places in other districts.

The river, which the Greeks called Calycadnus, and sometimes Calydnus, is denominated by the Turks *Chok-su* (چوق صو), or *Guk-su* (گوك صو). If the former be the orthography, the name will mean *noble*, or *royal water*; if the latter be the word, it will signify *celestial-blue water*.

It is remarkable that three rivers in Cilicia are called by the Turks *Sihan, Gihan,* (pronounced *Sihaun, Gihaun,*) and *Chok-su,* or *Guk-su;* and that the Tartars and Indians give these names, with a very slight variation of sound, to the Jaxartes and the Oxus. These two Scythian streams, denominated in Tartary the *Sihon* and the *Gihon,* are also called *Chok-su,* and *Chok-su-arta* (possibly *Guk-su,* and *Guk-su-arta*). The Greeks improved, or corrupted, these names into the less harsh denominations of Oxus and Jaxartes.

The country between the rivers Latmos and Melas (including, according to Pliny, the whole of Cilicia Tracheia) is rugged and hilly. The general direction of the valleys is from north to south; and through these valleys the rivers and torrents which descend from Mount Taurus find their way to the sea. The ruins of many cities, scattered along the coast, attest the former prosperity, and the present desolation, of Cilicia. The site of the ancient Celenderis is known to the Turks by the name of *Gulnar,* so called from the wild cherry-trees, which grow on the solitary spot.

From the summit of the promontory of Selinty may be seen the river Selinus, flowing amid the ruins of the city where Trajan terminated the long career of his glory. Mount Cragus lifts its naked head to the clouds; and Antiochia adorns its brow no more. The deserted site of Anemurium on the summit of a lofty cliff, is clearly indicated by the barbarians in its vicinity, who give to it the denomination, not to be mistaken, of *Eski-Anamur*. Here the traveller wanders in the midst of ruin and desolation; among the prostrate remains of fallen edifices, towers, temples, theatres, and aqueducts—seeing nothing entire but sepulchres; the dwellings of the living all destroyed; the tombs of the dead only preserved. I proposed to treat of origins; how often am I compelled to speak of ruins! When I wish to make inquiries concerning the rise of cities, states, and empires, how often does research prove fruitless; and how often is my attention withdrawn to contemplate their decay and to meditate on their fall!

CHAPTER III.

Of Pamphylia.

PAMPHYLIA, bounded on the east by Cilicia, on the north by Pisidia, and on the west by Lycia, presented a coast to the Mediterranean sea on the south, extending, according to Strabo, 640 stadia. But as this geographer established the limit between Pamphylia and Cilicia at Corycesium, or perhaps at the river Latmus, we must subtract at least 200 stadia from the amount, if we fix the boundary, as I have done in the preceding chapter, at the river Melas.

The name of Pamphylia, in some instances written Pamphilia, is said by Stephanus Byzantinus to have been given to the country in honour of Pamphyle, the daughter of Rhacius

by Manto, who had been priestess of Apollo, first at Delphi, and afterwards at Claros. Other writers think the name to be derived from πᾶν and φῦλον, denoting that the inhabitants were sprung from various nations, and that men of all tribes were to be found among them.

According to Herodotus (L. 7.) the Pamphylians were descended from those who accompanied Amphilochus and Calchas on their return from the Trojan war, and who were driven by a tempest on the coast of Asia Minor. This statement is adopted by Strabo (L. 14.), and Pausanias (L. 7.); but it can be easily shown that other Greek colonies had contributed to people Pamphylia; nor can it well be supposed that this fine province had remained uninhabited until after the siege of Troy, and had continued a desert until a few Greek mariners, escaped from shipwreck, sought for shelter on its coast. It may be reasonably presumed that the country had been peopled at a much earlier period, not alone by Greeks, as Greek vanity proclaimed, but by Syrians, Phœnicians, and Scythians.

A few miles to the west of the river Melas

was situate the seaport of Sidé, which was said to have been built by Greek emigrants from the Asiatic Æolia. The citizens of Sidé were called *Sidètai*, according to Stephanus and Suidas; but Arrian writes the name *Siditai*. This last author (L. 1.) tells a strange story concerning the language spoken by these people. Their progenitors, who came from Cymé, as soon as they arrived in Pamphylia, forgot their Greek, and forthwith uttered a barbarous language, which was not that of the neighbouring barbarians, but a dialect of their own, though different from that which they had formerly spoken. Strabo (L. 14.) likewise states that the first inhabitants of Sidé were colonists from Cymé, a city of Æolia in Asia Minor; but he says nothing of the singular language which, according to the historian of Alexander, was so suddenly and marvellously invented by these Æolian emigrants.

I am disposed to think, notwithstanding these testimonies, that Sidé was originally a Phœnician city, where the Greek colonists from Cymé were first received as strangers. In the sequel

the Phœnicians retired from this part of the coast; and the Greeks were left sole masters of the territory. It may have happened then, that the Cymean colonists, when they had established themselves at Sidé, came in a little time to mingle Phœnician with Greek words, and to adopt terms and phrases which were foreign to their native idiom. In this manner they might be said to cease to speak Greek; and yet their language might remain totally different from that of the aborigines; for the Phœnicians, like themselves, were strangers. By the help of this conjecture, and I only offer it as such, we can, I think, explain the story related by Arrian. One thing important we certainly learn from that story, that Greek was not the language of the native Pamphylians.

Minerva appears to have been the deity principally worshipped at Sidé; and Strabo makes mention of a temple there dedicated to that goddess. But the Greeks gave the names of their own deities to the deities of other nations. The gods worshipped by the Pamphylians were probably made known to them by the

Phœnicians. Hesychius says that the word for *solar* in Pamphylian was *abelia;* and that the Cretans called the sun *Äbelios.* The sun was therefore probably also called *Abelios* by the Pamphylians. Now *Abelios* is Phœnician; אב אל, *ab el, Pater Sol.*

An interesting account of the ruins of Sidé has been published by Captain Beaufort, who was employed in surveying the coast of Karamania. The remains of a temple, probably that of Minerva, still exist. But the theatre, the largest and best preserved of any that came under his observation in Asia Minor, particularly attracted the attention of Captain Beaufort. I refer the reader to the detailed description which he has given of it; and shall only observe, that as he calculates the number of spectators, which this theatre would contain, at more than 15,000, the population of Sidé may be estimated to have been nearly as great as that of any city in the peninsula of Asia Minor.

The same officer gives the following account of another ruin. *We were attracted towards it,*

says he, *by some large slabs of marble which lay on the ground: three of these were shaped like sectors of a circle, and had been fitted to each other; of the fourth we could find only a fragment; and the fifth, which would have completed the circle, was missing. Another set of stones was found, which had been adapted to the outer or circular edge of the former, so as to form a broad ring round their circumference. The whole seemed to have been the ceiling of a small circular edifice, in some manner dedicated to astronomy; for the under surface of the outer ring of stones is cut into deep soffits, each of which contains a star; and on the sector-shaped stones there is a zone of sculptured compartments, comprising a series of figures that evidently represent some of the signs of the zodiac. Pisces, Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer, were placed in due succession; but the next was a swan, and then the naked figure of a young man, perhaps Antinous. This curious anomaly made us anxious to decipher the figure on the fragment of the fourth sector; but, though it had somewhat the appearance of a lyre, it was too much defaced to admit of our forming a decided opinion.*

I should imagine that this monument was intended to indicate the state of the heavens, when the day closed at the summer solstice, at the period when it was constructed. Sidé is situated nearly about the parallel of 36° 50′ N. L. I find that about 200 years after the Christian æra, the sun, at the summer solstice, was in the 24th degree of the sign of Cancer. The whole constellation of the Swan would have been then seen at Sidé already risen at night-fall in the northern hemisphere, its head almost touching the tropic of Cancer; and the most easterly stars of Antinous, having now about 308 degrees of right ascension, and not more than four or five of southern declination, would have had their acronycal rising. It may be further observed that when the sun, at the summer solstice, was in the 24th degree of the sign of Cancer according to the fixed zodiac, though really in the corresponding degree of Gemini, the colure would pass through the head of the Swan, and nearly through the central stars of Antinous; the pole of the equator having proportionally moved round the pole of the ecliptic

since that epoch. I must at the same time confess that as the Swan is represented on this monument as following Cancer in the circle of the ecliptic, it deserves to be called *a curious anomaly.*

About 12 miles to the north-west of Sidé, the populous city of Aspendos was situate, partly on a rock which overhung the Eurymedon, and partly on the plain through which that river flowed, at the distance of sixty stadia from the sea. (Arrian L. 1. Strabo L. 14. Zosimus L. 5.) The errors which have been committed by Ptolemy in speaking of the position of Aspendos, have been pointed out by Salmasius, Isaac Vossius, and Cellarius. According to Strabo (L. 14.) and Pomponius Mela (L. 1.), this city was founded by Argives. But these writers have not told us how Argive colonists came to give to their city the barbarous appellation which it bore. Stephanus Byzantinus indeed pretends, that the city was named after a man called Aspendos. He should have said in what language. The name seems to me to have been corrupted from the Persian; but so

corrupted, that I shall not venture to give its etymology.

The Eurymedon was a navigable river, on which Cimon, according to Thucydides (L. 1.), obtained a naval victory over the Persians. Perhaps the Greeks were led to call it ὁ *Εὐρυμέδων*, not because this name signifies *latè imperans*, but because the river had been already denominated *Med* by the Phœnicians. *Med* probably in Phœnician, and certainly in Arabic, signified a wide water—also the tide—perhaps a tide—river. (See Meninski in voce ﻣﺪ.)

The river Cestrus joins the sea at the distance of about seventeen miles to the west of the mouth of the Eurymedon. Upon the banks of the Cestrus, and at the same distance from the sea as Aspendos, was situated the city of Perga. Diana was the presiding deity of the place; and the temple of that goddess which existed there is mentioned by Strabo and by Mela. Sidé and Perga appear to have been the two principal cities of Pamphylia. A medal, struck in honour of some treaty established between them, still exists; and a representation of it is

given by Gronovius. Sidé is indicated by Minerva and by a pomegranate, which last symbol may be considered as a phonetic hieroglyph, *sidé* being the Greek name of that fruit. Diana, with a stag at her side, represents Perga. An altar, with a fire burning on it, is placed between the two goddesses, each of whom gives her right hand to the other. The motto is Σιδητων Περγαιων ομονοια, *Concord between the inhabitants of Sidé and Perga.* Of the origin of this last city no tradition remains. The name however is probably Scythian; and I should suppose that it was primarily the same with the Teutonic word *berg*, which signifies a mountain.

The city of Attalia, so called after Attalus Philadelphus, by whom it was founded, was placed, according to Strabo, between the rivers Cestros and Cataractes. Not far from this last stream stood the strong fortress called Olbia. The name is erroneously thought by some to be derived from the Greek word ὄλβιος, *felix*. Olbia was the last city of Pamphylia on the side of Lycia. Concerning its origin tradition is silent; but the name, which is to be traced to *alp*, or *alb*,

would lead us to suppose that this city was founded by the Scythians, in an Alpine region. There can be little doubt that some Scythian tribes had settled in Pamphylia.

P. S. I ought to have observed that if Sidé was originally a Phœnician city, the deity principally worshipped there, whom the Greeks called Minerva, may have been שדה, *Sideh*, who appears to have been the same as Astarte. Thus the city would seem to have been named after the goddess. Should this conjecture be well-founded, it would confirm the reading which Selden (*De Diis Syris*) has proposed for a much disputed passage in Pausanias.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Mount Taurus, and of the Provinces of Isauria and Pisidia.

THE chain of mountains in Asia Minor, called Taurus by the nations of Europe, extends about 300 miles from east to west, and occupies the greater part of the two provinces known to the Greeks by the names of Isauria and Pisidia. High ridges project from this chain to the north and the south, into Cappadocia and Lycaonia on one side, and into Cilicia and Pamphylia on the other.

The original inhabitants of these upland regions were a fierce and warlike race of barbarians, who frequently descended from their abodes among the cliffs of Taurus, to plunder their more peaceable neighbours in the plains beneath. They appear however not to have

been devoid of a certain degree of civilisation. They were divided into separate communities, under the jurisdiction of different governments, or tyrannies, as they are called by Strabo. Their cities were numerous and well fortified; and some of the valleys which they cultivated were extremely fertile, producing corn in abundance, while the higher grounds were clothed with vines and olives. (Strabo L. 14.)

It is impossible to speak with certainty of the origin of the inhabitants of this territory. In later times the Greeks and Romans established garrisons, built cities, and planted colonies in Isauria and Pisidia; but those conquerors occupied themselves little with enquiries concerning the former possessors of the countries which they had subdued. It would seem however that the mountains of Taurus had afforded an asylum to the refugees of different tribes and nations, who had fled thither to escape the pursuit of their enemies. Thus, as we learn from Strabo, a colony of the Leleges settled at an early period in Pisidia, and lived in harmony with the more ancient proprietors of the soil.

Neither is it improbable that some of the Scythian tribes, when they retired from the invasion of Palestine, about six centuries before the Christian æra, may have established themselves among the heights of Taurus. We may also reasonably suppose that the Persians, while they were the masters of Asia Minor, placed garrisons, and founded cities, in the same mountainous districts. But the original inhabitants were probably of the same race with the Cappadocians, who, according to Herodotus (L. 1.) were Syrians, and who were distinguished from others of the same nation, as appears from Strabo and Stephanus Byzantinus, by the name of Leuco-Syrians. The Leuco-Syrians, or Cappadocians, spoke a barbarous dialect, in which Syriac, Arabic, and Persian, appear to have been mixed.

Bochart has attempted to find traces of his universal Phœnicians in Pisidia. But although the Phœnicians had established colonies on the coast, it is little probable that they penetrated into the interior of the country. The merchants of Tyre and Sidon could have found no attrac-

tions among mountainous and inland districts, where their possessions must have been continually exposed to the predatory incursions of the native inhabitants.

It is chiefly upon the etymological proofs which he adduces, that Bochart founds his argument. I am not of the opinion of those who generally refuse to listen to this species of evidence. If, for example, other proofs were wanting, I should not doubt, from the etymology alone, that the city of Naples was founded and named by Greeks. There can be no reason then to reject similar testimonies in similar circumstances. But in the case before us Bochart's argument fails, because there entered much Syriac, and consequently much Phœnician, into the dialect spoken by the Leuco-Syrians, who were probably the original inhabitants of Isauria and Pisidia.

It is however to be remembered that the Greeks wrested the dominion of Asia Minor from the Persians. Without considering therefore the mixture of Persian, which already existed in most, if not in all, the idioms of Asia

Minor, we may easily believe that cities, countries, and communities, were frequently indicated to the Greeks by the denominations which they had received from the Persians after the time of Cyrus. Thus the people, whom Strabo and Stephanus name Leuco-Syrians, but whom Herodotus calls simply Syrians, received from the Persians the appellation of Cappadocians. This is distinctly stated by Herodotus himself—οἱ δὲ Σύροι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται. (L. 7.)

The readers of this work must be already aware, from my former statements, of the difficulty which always occurs in endeavouring to determine what may have been the real oriental names, which the Greeks altered to their own modes of pronouncing and writing. I shall however examine, in the note below, the names of various places in the provinces of Isauria and Pisidia. In tracing the etymologies of these names to the different dialects to which they belong, we shall be enabled to judge of the origin of the people; and the reader will be competent to decide for himself, whether the

inhabitants of those countries were not a mixed race, whose barbarous idiom was composed from the several languages of neighbouring nations, and even from those of countries which were more remote.

Note.—*Aarassus*, a city of Pisidia, included in the list of Artemidorus, was probably called עיר־עז, *Aair-az*, *civitas fortis, vel munita*, in the original language of the country, which was that of the Leuco-Syrians.

Adadates, a city of Pisidia according to Strabo, is called *Adada* by Ptolemy. I am unable to trace the origin of this name, unless the city were called after some of the oriental deities. *Adad*, as we learn from Macrobius, was a title (signifying *the One* καϑ' ἐξοχήν) given by the Assyrians to the sun. But I rather think that *Adadates* was a Persian name. *Ada* was a denomination of Juno among the Babylonians (Ἄδα, ὑπὸ Βαβυλονίων ἡ Ἥρα). *Adadates*, in Persian, would signify *given by Ada*, as *Mithridates* signified *given by Mithras*. (Macrob. Saturnal. L. 1. Hesych. in voce Ἀδά.)

Amblada is mentioned in the list of Artemidorus as a city of Pisidia. The name is apparently a compound word. In Hebrew אם, *am*, (written *ama* in Syriac and in Pehlvi,) signifies *mater*—figuratively *metropolis*. We find from the coins of Tyre, that it bore this last meaning in Phœnician. In Arabic ام, *am*, also signifies *mater*. Whether or not it

ever mean *metropolis*, I am not prepared to say; but I think it not improbable. The word بلد, *balad*, in the same language signifies *urbs, regio*—بلاد, *belad*, or *blad*, signifies *regio, provincia*. The reader will now choose for himself the meaning of *Amblada*, as the name is written by the Greeks. I understand it to be the metropolis of the district.

Anabura (Ἀνάβουρα) was also a town in Pisidia. The name was probably in old Syriac, or in Chaldaic, עין־בורא, *Ain-bura*, which signifies *fons cisternæ*.

Beudos, a town of Pisidia, is called Παλαιὸν Βεῦδος, *Old Beudos*, by Ptolemy. Livy (L. 38.) mentions the same place *Beudos, quod vetus adpellant*. The word بود, *bud*, or *beud*, in Persian signifies *an abode—a dwelling place*.

Comana is reckoned by Ptolemy among the cities of Pisidia. A city in Pontus, and another in Cappadocia, bore the same name; and this name, I can have no doubt, is originally Persian; but I shall have occasion to speak more fully of it in another place.

Dalisandus, according to Ptolemy, was a city of Isauria. Stephanus Byzantinus says that it was originally called *Lalisanda*, and that the name was afterwards changed to *Dalisanda*. But this change probably happened only among the Greeks, in whose writings the copyists often confounded the letters Δ *delta*, and Λ *lamda*. We must, however, take the evidence as we find it, and suppose the name to have been first *Lalisanda*, and afterwards *Dalisanda*. Many names of districts, cities, and rivers, in India, Persia, and Asia Minor,

have their terminations in *and, anda, end, enda, ind, ond, und.* These terminations, it appears to me, signify *splendor, brightness;* also *water, a wave, a river, a brook;* and as seas, rivers, and brooks, often limit territorial possessions, the same terminations served to indicate boundaries. I shall take an opportunity in a note, No. 2, at the end of the 6th chapter, of explaining myself more fully on this subject.

Sandalium in Pisidia was probably so named, either because it was a mart for the precious wood called *sandal* by the Persians, or because this wood grew in its vicinity.

Nothing is known of the situation of *Tarbassus;* but I think that the name is a corruption of *tar-besha,* which would signify *the top of the wold*—the highest part of the uncultivated country.

Isaura, the capital of Isauria, stood, as we are told by Zosimus (L. 5.), on one of the loftiest ridges of Taurus. It is said by Stephanus Byzantinus to have been a great and well-fortified city, peopled by a robust race of men. Both the country and the city were probably named Isauria and Isaura by the Greeks, because the people called themselves *Iswaran.* The word *iswar* signifies an archer. The arms of an *Iswar,* say the Persians, are a javelin, a bow, and arrows. It is to be observed that the word is pronounced *Iswaur.* I believe then that Isauria was so named by the Greeks, as being the country of a people who called themselves *Iswauran.*

Kubistra is mentioned by Ptolemy as a town of Isauria.

This name (Κύβιστρα) appears to me to be a corruption of the Persian words كوه, *koh*, or *kuh*, *a hill*, and بريزن, *berizen*, *a furnace*; or as it more probably signified here — a *pyræum*. I am the more convinced of the accuracy of this etymology, that Pliny, who, like Ptolemy, enumerates only two cities in Isauria besides the capital, says nothing of *Kubistra*, and names *Clibanus*. Now this word, both in Greek and Latin, signifies a furnace, and is the very word by which Meninski translates *berizen*. *Kubistra* therefore is nothing else than a corruption for *Kuh-berizen*, the hill of the furnace—the hill where a *pyræum* was situated.

Oroanda. For an explanation of this name, see chapter 6. note 2.

We find the name of *Baris* given to a place in Pisidia. It would be difficult to say what the original name might have been, since the Greeks did not hesitate to change the Hebrew word בירה, *birah*, a palace, or citadel, into *Baris*, of which examples may be found in Josephus and in the Septuagint. Perhaps the word in Persian may have been *berizen*, a furnace, a pyræum.

That the ancient Persians should have established pyræa in different parts of Mount Taurus, appears so probable a circumstance, that I have had little difficulty in admitting the etymologies just stated. The natives, it may be supposed, would easily adopt the names imposed upon places by their conquerors. Neither is it unlikely that the Leuco-Syrians may have occasionally translated the words, which indicated these new constructions, into their own language.

Thus the name of *Carassus*, a place mentioned in the list of Artemidorus, may furnish an example of the truth of this observation. The word *car* in Syriac signifies a furnace. *Car-asha*, or *car-asa*, would consequently signify a furnace of fire—a fiery furnace—a pyræum.

We have seen from Strabo that the country called Pisidia by the Greeks was divided into many separate departments, under the jurisdiction of different governments, or tyrannies. This division had probably originated in the difference of the tribes who possessed this territory, and who had issued from regions remote from each other. The Persians, in bringing these mingled tribes under their control, might still permit them to retain their ancient usages. But in the language of the Persians, each ruler of a district, or chief of a village, would be called پیشی دیها—*Pishi-diha*, or *Pisi-diha*. The Greeks, with their usual inaccuracy, may have mistaken this name for that of the country.

Selga and Salagassus, or Selgessus, appear at the head of the list of Pisidian cities mentioned by Artemidorus. The account which Strabo gives of Selga is neither probable nor consistent. He describes the city as placed among the heights of Taurus, and yet he speaks of the soil as being extremely fruitful—*σφόδρα εὔκαρπος*. It appears even to have been raised above the ordinary level of those heights, for Zosimus says it stood *ἐπὶ λόφου*, on a hill, which supposes a still greater elevation than that of the region around it, which was yet on the highest parts of Mount Taurus. It is diffi-

cult to understand how Greek strangers should have thought of building a city here, or how the soil in the vicinity should have been so productive; and we may also well admire, how luxury should have climbed up to this elevated spot among crags and precipices. Yet Strabo and Stephanus attribute the foundation of Selga to a Lacedæmonian colony; and Eustathius, Suidas, and the author of the *Etymologicon Magnum*, derive the name of this city from the Greek word ἀσελγεῖα, because the manners of the inhabitants were infamously corrupt. But no people ever gave a disgraceful name to the place of their residence; and it is idle, at least, to talk of the luxury and corruption of men perched with the eagles on the summits of Taurus, almost out of the reach of the common commodities of life. It likewise seems very improbable that the Spartans should have sent a colony into Pisidia, to build a city among its highest mountains. Strabo seems strangely to contradict himself. He first says that the Lacedæmonians had from the beginning founded Selga; and in the very next sentence he admits that Calchas had laid the foundations of this city before them. This is probably also a Greek fiction. Modern writers talk of medals, on which the names of Selga and Selgassus are found inscribed together with that of Lacedæmon. We may well wonder at the almost childish docility with which such writers take their lessons from the Greeks. The medals in question were probably struck after the time of Alexander, when the conquered nations were glad to claim affinity to

the Greeks, and to adopt any legendary tale which might indicate them to have been of Grecian extraction. *Selga* and *Selgassus* were very ancient cities. They may have been built by the Leuco-Syrians, in whose language they may have been denominated סלע, *Sela*, and סלע־עזא, *Sela-aza*. But the Greeks, who very frequently changed the oriental *ain*, or *gnain*, into their own *gamma*, might easily have been led to pronounce *Selga* and *Selgassus*. *Sela* signifies a rock, or mount—*Sela-az*, a strong, or fortified, rock.

Tauros appears to me to be a corruption from the Persian name of the chain of mountains, which the Greeks readily called by a word in their own language. It has been remarked by travellers in later times, and among others by Chardin, that Mount Taurus is a name unknown in the East. Equally unknown in Asia is the name of Tauris, which European writers have given to the modern capital of the province of Aderbeitzan, a portion of the ancient kingdom of Media. But this city, though founded so late as the year 165 of the Hegira, probably received the same appellation as had been given in remoter times to the mountain; and the epithet تبريز, *tabriz*, which is the real denomination of the city, and which signifies *conspicuous*, (literally, *light-diffusing*,) may have been applied with not less propriety to the snow-clad summits of Taurus.

Termessus is enumerated among the cities of Pisidia by Artemidorus. It is strenuously argued by Bochart, that this name ought to be written *Telmessus*. But Bochart (as well

as some other writers, and perhaps even Strabo himself) has confounded a city of Pisidia with another of the same name in Lycia. The *Telmessus*, of which Bochart speaks, was situate near the coast; and he ought to have been aware that Pisidia was an inland province, and that no part of it reached to the sea. I agree, however, with this learned writer, in thinking that the orthography is *Telmessus;* and indeed Casaubon himself admits that the name is so written in the manuscript copies of Strabo. I shall give its etymology in the succeeding chapter; but I shall likewise show, that *Telmessus* and *Termessus* were only different pronunciations of the same name, and bore *precisely the same meaning*.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Province of Lycia.

FROM Cape Anamur to the mouth of the river Melas, the coast of Asia Minor runs in a north-western direction, but inclining more to the west than to the north. From the Melas to Olbia the direction of the coast is almost due west. At the distance of a very few miles from the site of that ancient city, the coast turns abruptly to the south, and continues in that direction about 50 miles, as far as Cape Chelidon, when it again takes a western course. This statement, which I have made on the unquestionable authority of Captain Beaufort's chart, will enable us to ascertain the boundary which separated Pamphylia from Lycia.

The change in the direction of the coast from

west to south is caused by the projection of a range of mountains, which, according to Pliny, appertained to the chain of Taurus, and formed the termination of that chain at Cape Chelidon. Now it is obvious that this mountainous range, running from north to south, formed the limit between Pamphylia and Lycia. Accordingly an inspection of the chart will show, that the coast of the latter province made nearly a right angle with the coast of the former, at the distance of two leagues to the westward of Olbia, the last city on this side of Pamphylia. The mountain in Lycia, which rose above this angle in the coast, is called Mount Climax by Strabo; but, as Salmasius has remarked, is named Masicytes by Ptolemy. Here, I conjecture, were the straits, which Dionysius Periegetes says are called, I do not exactly see why, the straits of Asia (Ἀσίης δὲ στεινὰ καλοῦσι); and here, it would seem, from the accounts of Arrian and Strabo, the army of Alexander made that famous march through the waves, which has been idly compared by some modern writers to the passage of the Israelites through the Red sea.

But since Mount Climax was the promontory which overhung the angle at the bottom of the Pamphylian gulf, it is clear from the direction of the coast, that here was the limit between Pamphylia and Lycia. Now the ruins of the city of Phaselis are situate on the shore, at the distance of about 20 miles to the south of Mount Climax; and it thence follows that Strabo and Ptolemy were accurate in considering Phaselis as a Lycian city, while Pliny and Dionysius Periegetes have erred in reckoning it among the cities of Pamphylia.

The ruins of Phaselis still exist. *On a small peninsula, at the foot of Takhtalu,* says Captain Beaufort, *are the remains of the city of Phaselis, with its three ports and lake, as described by Strabo.* The mountain, called Takhtalu by the Turks, is about five miles in-shore; and its bald summit, adds the same writer, rises in an insulated peak 7,800 feet above the sea.

This information is important, because it can now be shown that this mountain was the same which Strabo calls Mount Solyma; and Mount Solyma, I shall undertake to prove, was fast

by Telmessus. Hence it will follow, that there were two cities, and two mountains, in Lycia, called Telmessus, and that Strabo, and other writers, have created much confusion in their geographical statements, by confounding one of these cities with another of the same name, which was situate in Pisidia, in the interior of the country. The other city in Lycia, called Telmessus, was placed at the western extremity of the province. Its remains have been described by Doctor Clarke.

We have just seen from Captain Beaufort's statement, that Phaselis was situate at the foot of the lofty mountain now called Takhtalu. Let us next attend to the words of Strabo—εἶτα Φασηλὶς, τρεῖς ἔχουσα λιμένας, πόλις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ λίμνη, ὑπέρκειται δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ Σόλυμα ὄρος —*then Phaselis, having three ports; a celebrated city, and a lake; over which hangs Mount Solyma.* Thus the same mountain, which is called Takhtalu by the Turks, was named Solyma by the Greeks. But Phaselis, according to Strabo, was a city of Lycia; and consequently Mount Solyma, which rose immediately above it, was

also situate in the same province; both being at the distance of 20 miles from the confines of Pamphylia.

These facts being established, we shall easily perceive the great error into which this celebrated geographer has fallen, in stating the city of Telmessus, which was in the immediate vicinity of Mount Solyma, to have been a city of Pisidia. Strabo thus concludes the sentence which I have cited above—*καὶ Τέρμισσος* (lege *Τέλμεσσος*), *Πισιδικὴ πόλις, ἐπικειμένη τοῖς στενοῖς, δι' ὧν ὑπέρβασις ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν Μιλυάδα—and Telmessus, a Pisidian city, situate on the straits, through which is the passage into the Milyas.* But Mount Solyma, and consequently Telmessus, were yet more distant from Pisidia than from Pamphylia. It follows, that the Telmessus, of which Strabo speaks in this place, was, as well as Phaselis, a city of Lycia.

The inhabitants of Telmessus were also denominated Solymoi—*αὐτοὶ οἱ Τερμησσεῖς* (lege *Τελμησσεῖς*) *Σόλυμοι καλοῦνται.* (Strabo L. 13.) Neither the great geographer, nor his commentators, seem to have been aware that Solyma, or

Solymos, and Telmessus, are both corruptions for oriental names. We learn from Pliny, (and Stephanus Byzantinus makes the same statement,) that the Pisidians were formerly called Solymi. We shall find in the sequel, that this name was originally given to the mountains, both in Pisidia and Lycia, and that the Greeks transferred the appellation to the people who dwelt among them.

Bochart maintains that these mountaineers, whether of Pisidia, or of Lycia, whom, out of complaisance to the Greeks, we may call Solymi, were Phœnician colonists. Josephus, in his first book against Apion, cites some verses from the poet Chœrilus, to prove that the Jews assisted the Persians in their enterprise against Greece. In these verses the poet mentions a people who dwelt on the Solymean mountains near a broad lake, and who spoke the Phœnician language. Josephus thinks that these must have been Jews, who dwelt on the mountain called Solyma in Judea, and near the lake Asphaltites. Bochart contends that they were Phœnician colonists, who had settled on Mount Solyma in

Asia Minor, near to the lake of Phaselis. The poet has added, that these people made circular tonsures on the crowns of their heads; and Bochart has shown, that this custom, which existed among some of their neighbours, was prohibited to the Jews. It is besides obvious, that if the Jews had been engaged in the Persian war, we should have been informed of it by their own writers. Herodotus, it is true, (though Bochart has failed to remark it,) mentions the Syrians of Palestine as having furnished their contingent of troops to the great king; but he scarcely could have meant the Jews, otherwise Josephus would not have failed to adduce such an important testimony in favour of his argument.

So far then I agree with Bochart; but I doubt much whether the people mentioned by Chœrilus could have been Phœnicians. The poet says that they spoke Phœnician; but at that period the Phœnicians, Hebrews, Arabians, Chaldeans, Syrians, and Leuco-Syrians, all spoke cognate dialects; and the Greeks, who had more intercourse with the Phœnicians than with the other

nations, might easily have believed that all spoke the same language, without perceiving the dialectical differences in the separate idioms. Bochart has not quoted all the verses of Chœrilus. This writer proceeds to speak of the people in question as of a hideous race, with shaven crowns, and sooty heads, resembling the heads of horses, dried in the smoke. This is not a flattering picture. Josephus, it seems, thought that it resembled the Jews; but we may wonder how Bochart could see in it the portraits of his favourite Phœnicians. He has therefore avoided any notice, or mention, of the latter part of these verses.

It appears to me that the people described by Chœrilus were natives of Lycia, who spoke a dialect similar to that of the Leuco-Syrians.

Of the proper names, from which Bochart argues that the language of the country was Phœnician, there are few which are not also to be derived from other sources. Strabo says that the river Xanthus was formerly called *Sirbé*. This name is rightly traced by Bochart himself to the Arabic, in which language *Zarb*, or *Zarba*, bears nearly the same meaning as Xanthus in

Greek—one signifying golden, colour of gold; and the other yellow. The word חלב, *chalab*, from which he vainly would derive *Olba*, is Syriac. The name of the district called *Καβαλαῖς* by Strabo, is traced by himself to the Arabic جبل, *gebel*, or *gibel*, a mountain. *Κιβύρα*, which he derives from the Phœnician גבר, *gabar*, or *ghibor*, great, or mighty, may be equally referred to the Syriac. *Milyas*, according to the same author, may be traced to a word in the Talmud signifying *tumulus*. I should hesitate before I received a rabbinical for a Phœnician word. It is however true that the Milyas is described as a country abounding in hills, and the derivation therefore seems plausible. But there can be little doubt that some Scythian tribes had settled in Lycia. I would rather refer the name in question to their language; and it is singular enough that in doing so we shall get nearly the same meaning with that brought by Bochart from his Talmudical word.

We now come to Bochart's explanation of the names of Telmessus and Solyma. *Et verò Solymorum lingua Telmissus erat* תחלמיש, *Tahalmis*.

Nempe חלמיש *halmis Hebræis rupem sonat, et ad formam nominis pertinet* ת *præpositum.* I conceive that there are two objections to this etymology. First, חלמיש, *chalmish*, properly signifies the fragment of a stone or rock, and therefore could hardly be used as indicating a mountain. Secondly, there is no authority for prefixing a ת to this word.

The same learned man derives the name of the Solymi from the Hebrew word צלם, *tselem*, or the Arabic ظلم, *tsalam*, which signifies a shadow, shade, or darkness. The mountains of Pisidia, as he will have it, were covered with thick woods, and received the name of Solymi, from the dark shade occasioned by the trees. *Ejusdem originis est* צלמון, *Salmon, montis nomen* Ps. lxviii. 15, *cujus verticem arborum densitas opacabat, ut constat ex* Jud. ix. 48. *Neque alia fuit ratio nominis Solymorum.* To this etymology of the name of *Salmon*, or rather *Tsalmon*, I cannot assent. I think the mountain was so called from an idol worshipped there. But allowing the explanation to be good for Mount *Tsalmon*, it cannot answer in the case before us. The

mountain, which Strabo designates κατ' ἐξοχήν, by the name of Solyma, is nearly 8,000 feet high, and at that height even a Caledonian fir would refuse to grow. This mountain, therefore, could never have been named Solyma from the thick foliage of the trees, which Bochart imagined to have shaded its summit.

It is to be observed that the more ancient writers do not speak of one mountain called Solyma, but of the Solymean mountains. Thus, according to Homer (Odyss. L. 5.), Neptune descried the ship of Ulysses ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων, *from out of the Solymi mountains.* The people described by Chœrilus, in the verses already mentioned, dwelt ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι, *in the Solymi mountains.* Thus we may conclude that various mountains on the coast of Lycia were included in this denomination. Among these was unquestionably the mountain called *Climax* by Strabo. The Greek word κλίμαξ is rendered by the Latin word *scala.* Captain Beaufort, speaking of the mountains in question, says, *Their outline is extremely broken and picturesque, peak rising over peak in succession, as they recede*

from the shore. These mountains undoubtedly formed the ancient Mount Climax, and the analogy is striking between that name and the regular gradation in which they overtop each other. Now if I had to translate *climax*, or *scala*, into Hebrew, or Chaldaic, I should do so by a word, which I have no doubt was that by which the Syrians, or Phœnicians, named the mountain of which Captain Beaufort speaks. I find that סלם, *solim*, in Hebrew, and סולמא, *solima*, in Chaldaic, signify *scala;* and that the LXX (Gen. xxviii. 12.) render סלם, *solim*, by κλίμαξ, as Jerom does by *scala*. The mount Climax of Strabo was therefore called mount *Solim*, or *Solima*, by the natives; and *Climax* was only a Greek translation of the oriental name. Such then is the real etymology of *Solymos* and *Solyma*.

The word Telmessus is of easy derivation. Eustathius says that there was a very strongly fortified place in Lycia, which the people of the country barbarously called *Tzelumoi*. Bochart perhaps fancied that he saw an authority here for his etymology of the word *solymos*, and for

deriving it from צלם, *tsalam, umbra, tenebræ.* But, as I have already stated, I cannot assent to this etymology. I rather think that Eustathius meant to reprehend the barbarous pronunciation of some Greeks, who dwelt in Lycia, and who maimed the name of Telmessus. Be this as it may, I understand this word Telmessus to be a corruption for תל־מעז, *Tel-mez,* a fortified hill, or mound—*tumulus munitus.*

Most of the cities on the coast, though not in the interior of Lycia, received their names from the Phœnicians. Livy says of Phaselis, *prominet penitus in altum ;* and we have already seen that this city was situated on a peninsula, at the foot of Mount Solyma. I consider the name as a corruption from פאה־סללה—*Phah-sellah,* which signifies *the extremity of the mound,* or *the angle of the mound.* It is also to be observed that the word פאה, *phah,* is used to signify an angle, or perhaps a peninsula, on the coast; and that סללה, *sellah,* signifies a mound, or elevation of the ground, whether natural or artificial. (Montaldi in voce סללה.) The reader may con-

sult Captain Beaufort's description of the remains of Phaselis, and judge how far the name answers to the situation of the place.

About ten miles to the south of Phaselis were situate the great city of Olympus, and the mountain, also called Phœnicus, both of which probably were so denominated by the Greeks. Between Phaselis and Olympus, but more inland, as appears from the statement of Scylax, was the mountain, to which the Greeks gave the appellation of *Chimæra*. That this mountain was a volcano, and that it was near to Phaselis, is clear from the testimony of ancient writers. *Flagrat in Phaselide mons Chimæra*, says Pliny, *et quidem immortali diebus ac noctibus flammâ. Ignem ejus accendi aquâ, extingui vero terrâ aut fœno, Gnidius Ctesias tradit.* The passage in Ctesias has been preserved by Photius—καὶ ὅτι πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς Φασήλιδος ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἀθάνατον, καὶ ὅτι ἀεὶ καίεται ἐπὶ πέτρας καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, καὶ ὕδατι μὲν οὐ σβέννυται, ἀλλὰ ἀναφλέγει· φορύτῳ δὲ σβέννυται. Ctesias states, says Photius, *that there is an immortal fire near Phaselis in Lycia; that it burns upon the rocks both day and*

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night; that it is not extinguished by water, but is more inflamed by it; and that it is extinguished by dirt or rubbish. (S. 73.) Cellarius has strangely altered this passage; and has yet more strangely translated it (L. 3. c. 3.); and it is not a little singular that Mr. Bryant, who has quoted a part of the same passage, should have understood it in the same sense with Cellarius. (Vol. 1. p. 206.) Mela speaks of this volcano, as if it had been extinct in his time—*Lycia infestata olim Chimæræ ignibus.*

The Greek poets represented this mountain under the type of a triform monster breathing flames, and partaking of the forms of a lion, a goat, and a dragon, or serpent. Thus Homer (Iliad Z.) says,

Πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα,

in front a lion, behind a dragon, a goat in the middle.

The Chimæra, according to Hesiod, had three heads, a lion's, a goat's, and a dragon's. The Roman poets follow Homer's account. Thus Ovid describes the monster as having the head and breast of a lion, the middle parts of

a goat, and the tail of a serpent. (L. 9.) Lucretius had already put the question,

> *Qui fieri potuit, triplici cum corpore ut una,*
> *Prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa chimæra,*
> *Ore foras acrem flaret de corpore flammam?*
>
> (L. 5.)

Servius (ad Æneid. L. 6. v. 288.) attempts to explain the fable, by telling us, that there were lions at the top, goats in the middle, and serpents at the foot of the mountain. Alcimus and Nymphodorus make a similar statement. A different account is given by Nicander of Colophon. The winter torrent is called χείμαῤῥος, *cheimarros*. It rushes from the top of the mountain, roaring like the lion; as it descends, it nibbles, like a goat, whatever is near it; and when it reaches the plain, its course is winding and tortuous like that of a serpent.

I have mentioned these interpretations, because they afford examples of the failure, almost universal, of literal explanations of mythological stories. This fable of the Chimæra is either of Egyptian origin, or has been imagined by those

who were versant in the mythology of Egypt. It represents Phtah, Mendes, and the Agathodæmon, presiding over the volcanic mountain. This mountain, indeed, was called *Hephæstion* by the Greeks who dwelt in its neighbourhood. *In Lycia,* says Seneca, *regio notissima est, Hephæstion incolæ vocant, perforatum pluribus locis solum, quod sine ullo nascentium damno ignis innoxius circuit.* (Epist. 79.) Here might have been also the grotto sacred to Pan, mentioned by Porphyry (de antro Nympharum) as existing in Lycia. The real, or imaginary innocence of the flames might be attributed to the influence of the Agathodæmon. Seneca adds the following words to those which I have quoted from him—*Læta itaque regio est et herbidâ, nil flammis adurentibus, sed tantum vi remissa ac languida refulgentibus.*

Now the symbol often used to typify Phthah, the Egyptian Vulcan, or Hephæstus, (besides the scarabæus and the vulture, mentioned by Horapollo,) was a lion. *Lions,* says Ælian (L. 12. c. 7.), *are very fiery by nature, and therefore the Egyptians have consecrated them to Vulcan.*

(See also Capella. L. 2. and Cuper. in Harpocrat.) That Pan, or Mendes, was symbolised by a goat, is known to every one; neither is it likely that any of my readers require to be told, that Kneph, the Agathodæmon, was typified by a serpent or dragon.

The name was probably given to the mountain by the Phœnicians; and was perhaps related to the verb כמר, *khamar*, *ferbuit*, *calefactus est*, which, though not found in *Kal* in the Scriptures, must have existed in the Hebrew language. It may, however, have been called חם־הר, *cham-har*, *mons calidus*. The Greeks, as usual, endeavoured to assimilate the name to a word in their own language; called it χίμαιρα; and identified it with χίμαρος, which signifies a goat.

The ἱερὰ ἄκρα, or sacred promontory, formed one of the southern points of Lycia; for I agree with Salmasius in thinking that it was the same with the promontory opposite to the islands called *Chelidoniæ*; and that for this reason Pliny has named it the Chelidonian promontory. Here was the termination of the moun-

tains of Taurus, to which the name of Solymoi was given by the Greeks.

From the statements which I have made, I think it clear that before the arrival of the Greeks, the eastern part of the coast of Lycia must have been inhabited either by Phœnicians, or by a people who spoke a language greatly resembling the Phœnician. On the remaining parts of the coast, and especially in the interior of the country, the dialect appears to have been more mixed. Hence I am disposed to think that the Phœnicians in remote times had settlements on the coast, as the Greeks had afterwards; but that the aborigines were a mingled race, whose language was compounded from those of various nations—Leuco-Syrians, Persians, Scythians. I shall however have more to say on this point in the sequel.

At the distance of about 12 miles to the west of the sacred promontory was the mouth of the river Limyrus, and at 20 stadia from the sea stood the small town of Limyra. Further on, and at the same distance from the shore, the city of Myra was situate on a lofty eminence.

Such is the account of Strabo; and it is evident from the mention made of Myra in the Acts of the Apostles (c. xxvii. 5.), that it could not have been a mediterranean city, as is asserted by Ptolemy. The names of the towns and of the river, though diversified by the Greeks, were probably all the same in the dialect of the country. Salmasius tells us that much myrrh was produced in Cilicia and Mount Aman. Other parts of Asia Minor seem likewise to have produced the myrrh-tree. The city of Smyrna was apparently so called by the Greeks, because, in the language of the country where it was situated, it had been named after the myrrh-tree, which might have been there indigenous. This account of the origin of the name appears to me more probable than that usually received, and according to which we ought to believe that the city was called Smyrna after an Amazon, who must consequently have taken a Greek word for her denomination. The word in Greek for myrrh is σμύρνα. We learn from Athenæus that this gum was called μύῤῥα in the Æolic dialect. The Æolians took the

word from the orientalists. Myrrh was called مُر, *mur*, or المُر, *el-mur*, by the Arabians, in whose country the finest kind of it was produced, and with whom it was an important article of commerce. The Hebrews obtained the word from the Arabians; and the Phœnicians, it may be presumed, called it by the same name. If the myrrh-tree was indigenous in Lycia, as it was in Cilicia, the Phœnician merchants and mariners may have denominated a part of the coast of Lycia by the name of this tree, from its particularly abounding there; and the Greeks, when they settled in the country, may have easily changed *mur*, and *el-mur*, into *Myra*, and *Limyra*, and *Limyros*, and have thus adapted the names to their own mode of pronunciation.

The celebrated city called Patara by Strabo and Ptolemy, and Pataris by Hesychius, was situated at the distance of about a league to the east of the mouth of the Xanthus. Every schoolboy knows the verse in Horace—*Delius et Patareus Apollo;* and has heard of the oracle of that god at Patara.

According to Hecatæus, as we learn from Stephanus Byzantinus, Patara was so called from Pataros, the son of Xanthus and Lycia. This is evidently a Greek figment. We may safely deny the real existence of a person, whose parents were a river and a province. Stephanus gives another account of the origin of the name, and relates a long story from a writer called Alexander, of which the following account contains the substance: *A young girl, named Salacia, carried sacred offerings to Apollo in a vase, called patara in the Lycian language. These offerings were cakes, in the shapes of lyres, bows, and arrows, such as children play with. Salacia put down the vase to rest herself on the way; but the wind rising blew it into the sea. The girl returned weeping to her home. The vase, however, was carried by the waves to the coast of the peninsula of Lycia; and the cakes having been burnt by those who found the vase, the peninsula was called Patara, and dedicated to Apollo.*

Eustathius, in his notes to Dionysius Periegetes, calls Pataros the son of Apollo by Lycia the daughter of Xanthus. He also tells

a story, though somewhat different from that related above, about the cakes in the forms of lyres, bows, and arrows, which were cast on the Lycian shore in a box, or chest, called *patara*. But putting aside these idle fables, we may trace the name to the Phœnician; because there can be no doubt that the mariners of Tyre and Tsidon had establishments on this coast, the whole of which, from Mount Cragus to the sacred promontory, appears to have been denominated *Patara*, or *Pataris*. Hesychius says indeed that Pataris was a city and mountain of Lycia; but Dionysius extends the name to the promontory opposite to the Chelidonian islands—

> Τὴν δὲ μετ' ἀντολίην Χελιδόνιαι γεγαάσι
> Τρεῖς νῆσοι μέγαλης Παταρηίδος ἔνδοθεν ἄκρης.

It appears from Captain Beaufort's chart that the Lycian coast may be here considered as forming one vast promontory. I believe then *hat*[illegible] the Phœnicians called this promontory (but perhaps more particularly that part of it where the city stood) פאת־ארץ, *Pàt-arets*, or

perhaps in the Chaldean form, פאת־ארץ, *Pat-ara, angulus, vel extremitas terræ—corner of the land —land's end.*

Strabo says ὁ Ξάνθος ποταμὸς ὃν Σίρβην ἐκάλουν οἱ πρότερον. The word *Sirbé* is clearly to be traced to the Arabic *zarbeh*, yellow, as Bochart has already remarked; and the passage in Strabo shows that the river was not named after Xanthus the son of Triopas. It is evident that the Greeks translated the name into their own language. This may well lead us to suspect that the settlement of the son of Triopas in Lycia is a fable.

With regard to the name of *Cragus*, I am still of opinion that it is the same with the Celtic word *creag*, or *crag*, which signifies a rock, or precipice. If we believe Strabo, we must consider the Lycian Cragus as the abode of the fabulous Chimæra. There may have been two volcanic mountains in Lycia. Cragus may have been one; and the other may have been near Phaselis.

We are told by Strabo that Pinara, a mediterranean city, and one of the largest of Lycia,

was situate under Mount Cragus. Stephanus says that a party of the Xanthii (that is, people considered as belonging to the town of Xanthus,) inhabited a city on a round hill, appertaining to Mount Cragus, called *Pinara*, which word signifies *round* in the Lycian language; or, to use his own words, τὰ γὰρ στρογγύλα πάντα Λύκιοι πίναρα καλοῦσιν—*for the Lycians call all round things pinara*. Strabo's account is clearly erroneous. He states the town of Xanthus to be at the distance of 70 stadia from the river; and then he adds, μετὰ δὲ Ξάνθον Πάταρα—*beyond Xanthus is Patara*. But Patara was not more than 30 stadia from the river; and the town of Xanthus was not on the coast. Then Pinara could hardly be called a mediterranean city, if, as Stephanus says, it was built on a hill, or mound, appertaining to Cragus, a promontory overhanging the sea. I rather suspect that the town of Xanthus stood on the river of the same name, but at the distance of some miles from the shore; that Pinara, which Strabo admits to have been situated under Mount Cragus, was placed at the mouth of the river Xanthus; and

that, as it served as the port of the town of Xanthus, many of the inhabitants of that great city had establishments there. Ptolemy, proceeding from west to east; after Telmessus, (the Telmessus on the side next Caria,) mentions the Ξάνθου ἐμβολαὶ, *Xanthi ostia*. Now, notwithstanding the evidence of Stephanus, and of that Alexander, whom he quotes as having written a book περὶ τῶν Λυκιακῶν, I am of opinion that Pinara is nothing else than the Phœnician name Hellenised, and that it was originally פי־נהרא, *Pi-nahara*, the mouth of the river.

In the interior parts of Lycia I find a few places, of which the names appear to me to be Syrian; but there are others which I think must have been originally Scythian, perhaps Indian, Median, or Persian. *Arava* was a Lycian city on the side next Caria. The name was of Scythian, or Median origin; but I suspect that there was a river so denominated, and that the town was called *Arava*, as being situate beside the stream. Pliny mentions a river called *Arycandus*, which flowed into the Limyra, the stream denominated Limyros by Strabo. There was

also a Lycian city, mentioned by Stephanus, named *Arycanda*. But though the Greeks may have made a slight distinction between these names, they were probably very different in the language to which I believe them to have belonged. It is clear from Pliny that the river was mediterranean, since it flowed into another river; and it seems to me no less clear from a passage in the scholia on Pindar (Ode 7.), too long to cite here, that the town must have been situate on the coast. Ptolemy mentions *Tlos*, *Symbrà*, and *Korydallos*, as Lycian cities. I think that these three names may be traced to the Persian; but I have already trespassed too long on the patience of the reader with my etymological discussions. Let us proceed to make a few enquiries concerning the origin of the inhabitants of Lycia.

The Lycians, according to Herodotus (L. 1. and 7.), came originally from Crete. *Sarpedon and Minos*, says the historian, *the sons of Europa, disputed the throne. Minos was successful, and Sarpedon and all his partizans, who were driven away from Crete, passed over into the Milyas, a re-*

gion of Asia; for the country which the Lycians now inhabit was formerly called Milyas, and the Milyai were at that period named Solymi. While Sarpedon reigned over them, they were called Termilæ, the name which they had brought with them into the country, and which their neighbours still give them; but Lycus, the son of Pandion, having been driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, and having taken refuge with Sarpedon among the Termilæ, these people came in time to be called Lycians. Such is the account given by Herodotus, who seems to admit, that before the arrival of the Cretans, the country was inhabited by a people called Milyai, then named Solymi. This admission removes much that might otherwise seem improbable in the statement of the historian. It would have been difficult to believe that Lycia had been originally peopled by a colony from Crete. Islands are peopled from continents, and not continents from islands. But we can very well suppose, that Sarpedon and his followers may have established themselves on the coast of Asia Minor; that Lycus and his companions may have done the same

thing; and finally, that the Greeks may have called the country Lycia, in honour of the Athenian exile.

Strabo (L. 14.), having remarked that Phaselis was a city of Lycia, situate on the confines of Pamphylia, but not belonging to the community of the Lycians, and sustaining itself in a state of independence, proceeds as follows,—*therefore Homer makes the Solymi different from the Lycians; for when Bellerophon was sent by the king of the Lycians to this second combat, he fought against the glorious Solymi.*[1] *There are some who, not agreeing with Homer, say that the Lycians were formerly called Solymi, and afterwards Termilæ, from those who accompanied Sarpedon from Crete; and then Lycians, from Lycus, the son of Pandion, who, being an exile from home, was admitted to a share of the government by Sarpedon. It is better to state, that those who are called Solymi by the poet, are now named the Milyæ, of whom we have already spoken.*

The account given by Herodotus certainly does not seem to agree with the statement of Homer.

[1] These words are Homer's.

It might be concluded from the words of the historian, that the Milyæ, or Solymi, still continued to dwell in the country after the arrival of Sarpedon and Lycus; but according to Homer, the Solymi, in the time of Bellerophon, existed as a distinct and hostile people, and dwelt in a separate region from the Lycians. We may suppose then, what indeed seems the most probable account, that the Lycians, that is, the Cretan and Greek colonists, drove the native inhabitants from the part of the country where they themselves settled; that these strangers fixed their abode in the vicinity of the river Xanthus; and that the people whom they expelled sought refuge in the mountains.

But now comes the question which properly belongs to my researches—Who were these Milyæ, and Solymi, and Termilæ; and what was their origin? Apollonius says that the primitive inhabitants of Lycia were barbarians, by which expression he perhaps only meant that they were not Greeks. The author of the Etymologicon Magnum pretends that the Solymi were

people who dwelt near Cilicia; that they took their name from Solymos, the son of Kaldene; and that they are now called Isauri. We have already seen that, according to Pliny, the Solymi were the same with the Pisidians; and that Strabo identifies them with the inhabitants of Telmessus. Arrian (L. 1.) says that these inhabitants of Telmessus were barbarians of the same race with the Pisidians. If we believe the poet Chœrilus, the people who dwelt in the Solymean mountains ought to have been Phœnicians. But Hesychius pronounces the Solymi to have been a nation of Scythians—ἔθνη Σκυθῶν.

It must be evident to those who have read the preceding pages, that no people ever called themselves Solymi or Milyæ. These were names (corrupted indeed by the Greeks,) of two mountainous regions in Lycia; and the Greeks, with their accustomed inattention to the meaning of words which they termed barbarous, gave the names of the regions to the people who dwelt in them. The inhabitants of Lycia, when Sarpedon and Lycus settled in that

province, were probably a mixed race, descended from different nations, and holding separate possessions in different parts of the country. The Phœnicians had establishments on the coast, and particularly on the eastern part of it. They called the mountains, which rose, *peak over peak, as they receded from the shore*, by the name of *Solim*, or *Solima*, the ladder, the stair. Among these mountains, where the Phœnicians probably never penetrated, dwelt the barbarians described by Chœrilus, who might have been a mixed race of Isaurians, Pisidians, and Leuco-Syrians. The interior region, which the Greeks called the Milyas, or Mylias, (for this last mode of writing the word is authorised by Arrian,) was in the possession of a Scythian horde, if we can judge from the name, and if we can rely on Hesychius. Milyas, or Mylias, appears to me to be a corruption from a Scythian word signifying a hill. The country, according to Strabo, was hilly. Now the word *mul* in Celtic, a Scythian dialect, signifies a heap, a mound. Thence come the Latin *moles*, the English *mole*, the Gaëlic *mulan*, a hillock, and *mulach*, the

knob of a hill. It follows that the country in the interior of Lycia was called the *Mylias* from the number of hills which it contained; but the name denotes that they were small hills, and such they certainly appeared to be, when contrasted with the mountains of Taurus. The Greeks, however, called the people of the country Milyæ, and Termilæ. We might as well call the Swiss the Alps, and the inhabitants of the Abruzzi the Apennines. I have explained Milyæ as signifying hills. The word Termilæ is equally of Scythian origin. *Ter* was originally the same as *tel,* of which I shall have to speak in the note below. The primary sense was accumulation; thence what was raised up; also a heap, or mound. In its secondary sense *ter* signified earth, land, a country. Hence the Sanscrit *tir,* a land or region; the Latin *terra; tir,* a country in Gaëlic; *ter,* or *tir,* (according to Pelloutier) in Bas Breton, land, country. *Ter-milæ* is consequently a Greek corruption of two Scythian words, signifying the land or region of hills.

We may now judge of the value of such information as is given to us, for example by

Stephanus Byzantinus, who says that the Milyas was called after Milya, the wife and the sister of Solymos, who was afterwards married to Cragos—that is—the Hill Country was the wife and the sister of Mount Solymos, and took the promontory called Cragos, the rock, or crag, for a second husband. But the most singular thing of all is to find modern critics and commentators taking these *anilia* for true histories, and believing Milya, Solymos, and Cragos, to have been real persons. It is at least amusing to observe Salmasius endeavouring to alter the text, in order to get rid of the incest; and Berkelius lamenting the immorality, but defending the old reading.

Note.—I have thought it better to reserve my reasons for considering *Telmessus* and *Termessus* as only different pronunciations of the same name, for a note at the end of the chapter, as I must again enter into some details, which can have no interest for those to whom philological researches are not agreeable. I have represented *Telmessus* as a Phœnician name, composed of תל *tel*, a mound, and מעז, *mez*, which signifies fortified. Now the word תל may be pro-

nounced *tal, thal, tel, thel, til, tol,* or *tul;* nor will this be disputed by any Hebraist, who is out of the leading-strings of the Masorites. Here then we have a primitive, from which, if I err not, there are derivatives, and of which there are corruptions, to be found in various languages. The primary sense of *tal,* or *thal,* or *tel,* is aggregation, or accumulation. Hence it is used to signify a heap, a mound, a *tumulus;* and implies bulk, height, weight—what rises up, and what is raised up—what is borne aloft, carried, or suspended. Thus תל, *tel,* in Hebrew signifies *agger, tumulus,*—تل, *tell,* in Arabic, *cumulus arenosus* (Golius); *collis,* (Meninski)—تل, *tel,* in Persian, *colliculus* (Meninski). From the same word I derive the obsolete Greek verb τέλλω, *orior*—θάλασσα, *mare,* as the great accumulation of waters. The Arabians call a wave, or billow, تلاس, *talâs,* from its being uplifted. To the same root I trace the Latin *tollo*—also *tellus,* the great upheaved accumulation; for observe that the word *earth* originally signified what is great, high, lifted up; being clearly taken from *ard,* or *art,* which in Sanscrit, Persian, and Celtic, bears this meaning. From the primitive *tel,* or *tal,* I likewise derive *tall,* in English: also *to till;* this being to turn up, to raise up, the soil. The Celtic word *tulloch,* a hill, or rather a hillock, is to be traced to the same source.

But the letters L and R are what the grammarians call *literæ permutabiles:* and these two liquids are confounded

not only in spoken but in written language. The ancient Egyptians confounded them together. M. Champollion says that they represented both sounds by the same phonetic hieroglyph. Greek and Latin authors have occasionally written *r* for *l*, in transcribing oriental names. Thus the LXX have *Beliar* for *Belial;* and Jerom, in one instance, has *Bether* for *Bethel.* The Latin words *castrum* and *castellum* furnish us with a remarkable example. It is a common error to suppose that the latter is a diminutive of the former. They are both the same word differently pronounced and written. *Castellum* is a compound word, and its etymology proves its oriental origin. Isidorus tells us that *casa,* a house, originally signified *tugurium,* a shed. We may then trace it to כסה, *casah, texit,* and to the nouns derived from this root, signifying *tegmen, tegumen, tugurium.* It follows that *castellum* is *casa-tel,* the house of the hill, or mound. But *castrum* was no doubt originally the same word, pronounced with an *r* instead of an *l.* We may find the proofs in various proper names in England. The old orthography of *castle* was *castel.* Now we have *Man-chester* for *Man-castel—Dor-chester* for *Dor-castel—Lan-caster* for *Lan-castel—Don-caster* for *Don-castel.* The fact seems to be this, the primitive signifying a heap, or mound, was pronounced *tal, tel, til,* by some nations; and *tar, ter,* or *tir,* by others. The Syrians, Arabians, Persians, and Hebrews pronounced it with the *l*—the Scythians, and the nations of Scythian origin, pronounced it sometimes with the *l* and sometimes with the *r.*

I trust that I have now said enough to show that Telmessus and Termessus are only different modes of writing and pronouncing the same name. The signification, as I have already mentioned, is *collis munitus*.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Province of Caria.

CARIA formed the south-western angle of the peninsula of Asia Minor. This province was bounded on the east by Lycia and Phrygia; on the north by Lydia and the Asiatic Ionia; and towards the west and the south, it projected its long headlands, and rocky promontories, into the Icarian sea.

According to Herodotus (L. 1.) two different accounts were given of the origin of the Carians. The Cretans pretended that the Carians originally inhabited the islands; that they were called Leleges; that they had been subjects to Minos, whose ships they supplied with mariners, though they paid no tribute to that prince; and that being finally expelled from the islands by the

Dorians and Ionians, they established themselves on the continent of Asia. The Carians denied the truth of this statement. They affirmed that they had always inhabited the continent; and that they had always borne the same name. In proof of the veracity of this account they appealed to the existence of the temple of Jupiter Carios at Mylassa, into which the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians, could only be admitted, as being descended from the three brothers Car, Lydus, and Mysus, from whom these nations had derived their names. (Herodot. L. 1.)

Of these two accounts the former seems to have been the more generally believed. Thucydides (L. 1.) says that the Carians were originally islanders; but he attributes their expulsion from the Cyclades to the Cretans, and not to the Dorians and Ionians. We likewise learn from Strabo (L. 14.), that general opinion held the Carians to have been subjects of Minos, and to have been called Leleges. He adds, that when they migrated from the islands, they took forcible possession of parts of the continent, which had formerly belonged to the Leleges

and Pelasgi. But this statement does not seem to accord with other passages in the same author, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. What indeed is to be understood by a people called Leleges taking possession of a country belonging to the Lelèges? Besides, it will appear presently that the original inhabitants of Caria, whether first known by the name of Carians, or not, were not Leleges. The name of Caria was indeed probably given to the country at a later period, and not until after the Phœnicians had established colonies on the coast. Isocrates (Panathen. S. 26.) directly contradicts the statement of Thucydides. He says that the islands of the Cyclades were under the dominion of Minos, and that the Carians afterwards obtained possession of them, and were expelled by the Greeks. This statement therefore agrees with that which has been cited above from Herodotus. We are told by Pomponius Mela, though he has expressed himself with more than the usual obscurity of his singular Latinity, that Caria was inhabited by a people of uncertain origin; some considering

them as indigenous; some as descended from the Pelasgi; and others as sprung from the Cretans.

But although a part of the population of Caria, in the times of the writers whom I have cited, was probably descended from the Leleges, who had been forced to quit the islands, yet it may be well questioned, whether they were the original inhabitants of the country. The Phœnicians, there is much reason to think, had taken possession at a previous period of some places on the coast, and had partially dislodged the aborigines. But the Phœnicians were afterwards expelled by the Leleges, who, in their turn, were partly at least compelled to abandon different possessions which they held on the coast to the Greeks; first, to the Dorians under Triopas, as appears from Diodorus (L. 5.); secondly, to the Achæans under Achilles, as is stated by Strabo (L. 11.); and thirdly, to the Ionians under Nileus, as is attested by Pausanias (L. 7.).

Bochart, as might be expected, has not failed to speak of the establishments of the Phœnicians

in Caria. He however admits on too slight evidence, that this country was once called Phœnice. His authorities are the lyric poet Bacchylides, and the lyric poetess Corinna. Not to interrupt the discussion in which I am now more particularly engaged, and in order also to make some philological remarks, I shall reserve this question for a note at the end of the chapter (Note 1.). There can, however, be little doubt that the Phœnicians had establishments on the Carian coast. The city, or fortress, known by the name of Phœnix, and situate opposite to Rhodes, sufficiently proves the truth of this statement.

Upon the whole, then, it appears that the Greeks knew nothing certain of the period when the Leleges arrived and settled in Caria. Neither did they positively know whether these Leleges had been the friends, or the foes, of Minos; whether they had deserted him as allies, or had rebelled against him as subjects; and finally, whether they were driven from the Cyclades by that prince, or whether they had wrested the dominion of the islands from the Cretans, and

had been compelled to abandon them by the Dorians and Ionians. The name of Leleges was probably given by the Greeks to certain Scythian tribes, and might have been a corruption of the appellation which those tribes themselves had adopted. I shall, however, have occasion to speak more fully of the Leleges in the sequel.

According to Stephanus Byzantinus, the Carians derived their name from Car, the son of Phoroneus, king of Argos, who was son of Inachus, son of Okeanos. Some authors represent both Inachus and Phoroneus as rivers, or as deities presiding over rivers; and certainly the genealogy of these princes, beginning with the god Ocean, and the goddess Tethys, has something of the appearance of fable. Neither can I help remarking that the names of these personages look very like the work of mythologists. Inachus and Car are names easily traced to the Phœnician. The name of Phoroneus seems to be Egyptian. Be this as it may, it is utterly improbable that the Carians derived their name from the son of Phoroneus, who reigned at

Megara; and indeed if we believe Pausanias (L. 1.), his tomb was to be seen between that city and Corinth. Another tradition tells that Car was the son of Manes, the son of Jupiter, and that he married Callirhoë, the daughter of the river Mæander. A third fable represents Car as a Cretan emigrant. I am inclined to think that the Phœnicians (or perhaps the Cretans, in whose language much Phœnician was mixed,) introduced into this part of Asia Minor the worship of a deity called *Car;* and that the votaries of this deity received the name of Carians, which name appears to have been afterwards adopted by the inhabitants of the whole country from Miletus to the frontiers of Lycia.

The word *car*, and words immediately derived from it, or rather corruptions of the word itself, signified *a sheep* in many languages. Thus *caora* bears this meaning in Celtic. Hesychius gives the same interpretation to the word καρ. We likewise learn from him that καρνος signifies a sheep; and that καρα is the word used by the Ionians, (the neighbours of the Carians, from

whom they probably borrowed it,) to denote the same animal. Again, the Carians employed the word *cos* (κως) to designate a sheep. Eustathius (ad Iliad. ξ.) informs us that—τοὺς Κάρας οὕτω καλεῖν τὰ πρόβατα, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ νῆσος Κῶς, ὡς πολυθρέμμον δι' εὐβοσίαν—*the Carians thus call sheep; and hence the island of Cos is so named, from the excellent pasture which it affords to a number of flocks.* Thus *car* and *cos* were synonymous. Accordingly *Caria* and *Cos* appear to have been names that were interchanged; and the island and the province, as we learn from Stephanus Byzantinus, were both known by both appellations —Καρὶς δὲ ἐλέγετο Κῶς—*Caris is named Cos*—Κῶς ἐκαλεῖται δὲ καὶ Καρία—*Cos is also called Caria.* Some vestiges of the signification of the ancient name of Caria still remain; and one of its most remarkable promontories is called κριος (*aries*) by the modern Greeks. Now certainly in Hebrew, and probably in Phœnician, כר, *car*, signified a ram. But the Philistines appear to have worshipped a deity called *Car*. We hear in Scripture of בית כר, *Bith Car*, the house, or temple of *Car*. (1 Sam. vii.) The name,

however, which is given according to the Hebrew orthography, is clearly of Syriac origin, and was probably employed by the Canaanites, before the Philistines entered Palestine. The deity therefore that was called *Car*, was apparently, like Ammon, represented as κριοπρόσωπος, *ram-faced*, the term which Herodotus uses in speaking of the Egyptian god. Now the worship of Ammon was very universally spread. Lucan has said,

Quamvis Æthiopum populis Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis unus sit Jupiter Ammon.

In Greece the worship of this deity was established at a very early period. The Elei had erected altars to Ammon, which existed in the time of Pausanias. The same author mentions a temple in Bœotia dedicated to Ammon by Pindar; and he says in another place, in speaking of the inhabitants of Aphytis, that they honoured Ammon nothing less than the Ammonians of Libya—'Αφυταῖοι δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἄμμωνα, οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἢ οἱ Ἀμμώνιοι Λιβύων. Thus we cannot doubt that the worship of Ammon ex-

isted in different parts of Greece; and that he was represented under the form of a ram. This is indeed distinctly stated by Pausanias, in speaking of an image of that god in Arcadia. Now there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that this deity might have been called *Car*, from the Phœnicians having introduced the name. The Bœotians especially might have obtained this word from their Phœnician ancestors. Hesychius says — *Καραιὸς, Ζεὺς παρὰ Βιωτοῖς* (lege *Βοιωτοῖς*), *οὕτω προσαγορεύεται, ὡς μέν τινες φασὶ, διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸς* (lege *ὑψηλὸν*) *εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ καρὰ*—*Caraios, Jupiter among the Bœotians. He is thus called, as some say, on account of being exalted, from cara* (which signifies the head). Bochart has the following remark on this passage, which he quotes in part—*Quid*, asks he, *si Καραιὸς sit' Phœnicium* כראי, *carai, arietinus, id est Hammon, qui pingebatur κριοπρόσωπος*? I ask, in my turn, what if the *Jupiter Carius*, from assembling in whose temple at Mylassa, with the Lydians and Mysians, the Carians pretended to have been autochthones, and to have been always known by the same name, may not have

been the same *Jupiter Arietinus*, who was more generally worshipped under the name of Ammon? If Car were the brother of Lydus, as we may infer from the statement of Herodotus, he must have been, according to the same historian (L. 1.), the son of Atys. But these are mere mythological figments, unworthy of history. Atys was a type of the winter-sun. Like Adonis, he was slain by a wild boar. Previous to his death he was said to have been emasculated; by which nothing else was to be understood than the decay of the solar heat and power in the winter season. The *criobolia* were instituted in his honour, when the *vires arietis*, by which may be understood the genitals of that animal, were offered up to Atys, as symbols of what he had lost. With regard to Car, we can now, I think, hardly doubt, that this was a fictitious personage; and really no other than the sun represented under the form of a ram, when that luminary at the vernal equinox entered into the constellation of *Aries*. Hence the Carians, who instituted in their country the worship of this deity, and who feigned at length that he

was the founder of their nation, received their name.

It has been frequently questioned, whether the Carians spoke Greek, or whether they had a dialect of their own. Strabo, in discussing this subject, has cited a line from the second book of the Iliad—

Μάσθλης (Νάστης) αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων.

The sense of the last word of this verse has been much disputed. The scholiast says, βαρβαροφώνων, ἀγριοφώνων, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ἠχρηστηκότων, ὅτι μὲν ἀῤῥενικὰ θηλυκῶς ἔλεγον, τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ ἀῤῥενικῶς—*barbarophonon is the same as agriophonon, and indicates those who speak the Greek language corruptly, because, confounding the genders, they put the masculine for the feminine, and the feminine for the masculine.* I do not believe that this was the meaning of Homer. I understand the poet to have spoken of the pronunciation of the Carians—*Nastes conducted the Carians, whose pronunciation is barbarous.* Neither can *barbarophonoi* be considered as synonymous with *agriophonoi.* If the language,

or the articulation, of the Carians had been merely rustic, it would hardly have attracted the notice of the poet. Strabo says, οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὸ βαρβαροφωνεῖν, καὶ τοὺς βαρβαροφώνους, δεκτέον τοὺς κακῶς Ἑλληνίζοντας. But if by the *barbarophonoi* were to be understood those who Hellenised ill; and if to Hellenise ill signify to speak Greek ill, as Strabo appears to have meant it, the epithet might have been applied with equal justice to others as well as to the Carians. It appears to me that *barbarophonoi* rather indicated those who pronounced and accentuated ill the Greek language, than those who spoke it inaccurately and ungrammatically. Hesychius says, βαρβαρόφωνοι οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ οἱ Κάρες, ὡς τραχύφωνοι καὶ ἀσαφῆ τὴν φωνὴν ἔχοντες —*the Elei and the Carians are barbarophonoi, as having a harsh-sounding and obscure* (perhaps what we in English should call *thick*) *mode of speaking*. Such seems to me to be the sense of his words. I observe that Cicero (*in Oratore*) complains of the bad style and faulty accentuation of the Asiatics, but not of their ungrammatical or inaccurate Greek. I mean not,

however, to argue that the Carians did not speak the language ill. I only wish to show that the epithet which Homer applied to them merely indicated the rudeness and harshness of their pronunciation.

From the various citations which I have just made, it clearly appears that the Carians spoke Greek; but I would add to the explanation which I have given of the word used by Homer, that it indicated the faulty pronunciation of the Carians, who articulated the language like foreigners, and not like natives. They expressed themselves easily, though rudely and harshly, in Greek, while they had a language of their own, which they spoke among themselves. They were *bilingues*. Now where two languages are spoken by the same people, we may be certain that one of them will be ill pronounced and ill accentuated. In some parts of the Highlands of Scotland the inhabitants speak Gaëlic and English with equal facility; but in articulating the latter language, they utter tones which speedily betray their Celtic origin. Those Irish, who still retain the ancient dialect of Erin,

employ no very harmonious intonations of voice, when they express themselves in the language of their conquerors. In these cases the accent is such, that we might mistake the speakers for foreigners. This never happens when we listen to the harsh jargon of a peasant of Somerset, or Yorkshire; or even to the more intolerable drawl of a Scottish Lowlander.

It may be required of me to show that the Carians had a language of their own, altogether different from the Greek. Plutarch (*in Aristide*) speaks distinctly to the purpose—*καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ προφήτης Καρικῇ γλώσσῃ προσεῖπεν*—*and the prophet foretold this in the Carian language.* Strabo (L. 14.), after observing that the language of the Carians is not very poor, (for so I understand him,) adds the following words—*ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖστα Ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα ἔχει καταμεμιγμένα, ὡς φησὶ Φίλιππος ὁ τὰ Καρικὰ γράψας*—*but it has also many Greek names mixed in it, as says Philip, who has written concerning Carian affairs.* The answer, which the priestess of Apollo Ptoüs gave to Mys, as we are told by Herodotus (L. 8.), was made in the Carian language, and

was not understood by the Greeks, who were present. Plutarch, indeed, who repeats the story, says that the language was Æolian. But this is probably an error committed by the copyist. With all his well-known disposition to contradict Herodotus, Plutarch would have hardly ventured to represent the Bœotians, who accompanied Mys, as unable to understand Æolian, their own native dialect. Herodotus calls Mys an *Europian;* and I understand this to mean that the messenger of Mardonius was a citizen of *Europus*, a town of Media. It was, therefore, not improbable that he might have understood the Carian dialect; especially as many Persian, Arabic, and Scythian words were mingled in that dialect, as was apparently the case with the Median language itself. From these various testimonies I conclude that the Greek and Carian languages were totally different from each other.

But it is argued, that if the Carians were descended from the Leleges, they must have spoken Greek, though so corrupted, as not to be intelligible to the Greeks themselves. It is very

probable, and indeed Strabo states it to have been the case, that the Leleges spoke bad Greek; but nowhere does it appear that they were unintelligible. These Leleges were strangers, who being driven from the islands of the Ægean sea, took forcible, but at the same time only partial possession of the coast of Caria, which had been previously inhabited by the aborigines, and perhaps already, in some parts, by Phœnician colonists. They made their first settlements at Miletus, and in the vicinity of that city, whence they were expelled by the Ionians, eighty years after the siege of Troy, if indeed this did not happen at an earlier period, when Ion emigrated from Attica. They afterwards seized on some districts between the Asiatic Ionia and the frontiers of Lycia. Their tombs, and the remains of their cities and fortresses, were still to be seen in the time of Strabo.

But in order more fully to show that the Carians and the Leleges were distinct nations, let us enquire a little farther into the history of the latter. Hesiod is the earliest writer who speaks

of the origin of the Leleges. The following fragment has been preserved by Strabo (L. 7.); and though it be a mere fable, it shows that the Leleges were supposed by the poet to have been first known by that name in the time of Deucalion,

> Ἦτοι γὰρ Λοκρὸς Λελέγων ἡγήσατο λαῶν,
> Τούς ῥα ποτὲ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδὼς,
> Λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης ἀλέους πύρε Δευκαλίωνι.

Casaubon thus notices the last line — *locus suspectus, quid enim est* ἀλέους? Heinsius reads Ἀλέας. Salmasius proposes λαοὺς, or λαέων. I can see no reason why the old reading should be changed, further than to alter ἀλέους into Ἀλέους. I find from consulting Stephanus Byzantinus, that there was a city called Ἀλέα in Thessaly, where Deucalion reigned. The same author adds, ὁ πολίτης Ἀλέος. Hesiod evidently alludes to what happened, according to the mythologists, after the deluge in Thessaly, when Deucalion threw the stones behind him, which rose from the earth in the form of human beings; and as clearly means that the Leleges

were a new and select race of Thessalians, or Alei, who sprang out of the soil, and were presented as subjects by Jupiter to Deucalion. It may be further surmised that the poet considered Alea as the place where this renovation of mankind had happened. I would therefore translate the passage—*Locrus conducted the Leleges, those Alei* (that is new Alei or Thessalians) *collected out of the earth, whom Saturnian Jupiter, knowing incorruptible counsels, formerly transferred* (or presented) *to Deucalion.*

Pausanias tells us in one place (L. 1.) that the Leleges were descended from an Egyptian of the name of Lelex; and in another place (L. 3.) he calls Lelex a Lacedæmonian; as does also the scholiast of Euripides in his notes to the Orestes of that poet. We learn from Strabo (L. 7.), that Lelex was said by Aristotle to have been a native of Leucadia. But it seems difficult to ascribe the origin of a people so numerous, and so widely spread, as the Leleges, to an individual, of whose history nothing is known, and who is variously designated as an Egyptian, a Lacedæmonian, and a Leucadian.

It was but too common with the Greeks, when they could not otherwise account for the names of nations or cities, to suppose the existence of individuals, to whom those names might be traced.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who had examined this question with great attention, so far confirms the fable of Hesiod, as to represent the Leleges as the companions of Deucalion, when he invaded and conquered Thessaly. I am aware that various writers have said that Deucalion conducted the Leleges from Crete into Thessaly; but this error has arisen from their having confounded two individuals of that name with each other. There were indeed various individuals called Deucalion. Apollonius Rhodius (L. 3.) has mentioned one, who was the son of Prometheus; and the scholiast makes the following remark—ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Δευκαλίων, περὶ τοῦ Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Μίνωος, περὶ τοῦ Φερεκύδης, καὶ τέταρτος ὁ Ἄβαντος, τοῦ μνημονεύει Ἀριστιππος ἐν Ἀρκαδικοῖς—*there is also another Deucalion, concerning whom Hellanicus writes a history; also another, the son of Minos,*

of whom Pherecydes gives an account; and a fourth, the son of Abas, of whom Aristippus makes mention in his Arcadics. Homer (Il. *E.*) had already spoken of the son of Minos; and this Deucalion has been frequently mistaken for the son of Prometheus, who, if we believe Apollonius, was born in Thessaly, which he calls Hæmonia. It is more probable that he was a stranger. His father, Prometheus, it may be presumed, was a Scythian, since it was to a rock on mount Caucasus that he was chained by order of Jupiter. Strabo indeed says that he was transported thither from Pontus. But this would not disprove the Scythian origin of the son of Iapetus. Lucian has distinctly affirmed that Deucalion was a Scythian. In speaking of the temple of Juno at Hierapolis, he has the following words: —οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ Δευκαλίωνα, τὸν Σκύθεα, τὸ ἱρὸν εἴσασθαι λέγουσι—*many therefore say that Deucalion, the Scythian, erected the temple.* The Leleges, the companions of Deucalion, were probably his countrymen. We hear afterwards of the Leleges in Locris, Bœotia, Megara, Leuca-

dia, the islands of the Cyclades, and finally in Asia Minor. (Strabo 7 and 14.)

Strabo (L. 13.) tells us that the Leleges in Asia Minor first inhabited the country between Ænæa and the territory of the Cilicians, whence they were expelled by Achilles; that they then established themselves in the vicinity of Halicarnassus; that they were afterwards dispersed all over Greece; and that their race was exterminated. The same author has spoken doubtingly (L. 7.) as to their being the same people as the Carians. But this hesitation may have proceeded from his deference to the opinion of others. Still I think he might have safely allowed the authority of Homer to decide the question; for that poet clearly makes a distinction between the Leleges and the Carians—

Πρὸς μὲν ἁλὸς Κᾶρες, καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλοτόξοι,
Καὶ Λέλεγες. (Il. K.)

Near the sea were Carians; and Paiones with their crooked bows; and Leleges.

It appears to me that the Leleges and the Carians were both of Scythian origin; but that

they were of tribes totally distinct from each other. In the Trojan times the former of these tribes may have been already established in Caria, and may have been much mixed with the Carians, who were the original possessors of the soil. Their first dialect was probably Scythian. As they wandered over Greece, they came, after a few generations, to speak the language of that country. Still, however, it may be easily supposed, they retained something of their original idiom; and may not have lost their foreign accent. From them the native Carians may have acquired the barbarous Greek which they spoke; and from the rudeness of their pronunciation both Leleges and Carians may have been denominated *Barbarophonoi* by the polite Ionians.

If we believe Vossius (*ad Melam*), the Carians were originally called *Mausoli*. Upon what authority Vossius rests his assertion I know not. Be this however as it may, their language was certainly not Greek; and this is another reason for considering them as a distinct people from the Leleges. We hear of the Leleges in various quarters; but we never hear of their speaking a

language peculiar to themselves. The dialect which they spoke might not have been pure, and their accent was probably harsh; but still it was Greek which they articulated, and which was still understood, though uttered with much roughness and rudeness. Now it can be proved in addition to the testimonies already adduced, from the vestiges which remain of the Carian language in the proper names of places, that it was not Greek, but a mingled dialect composed of words drawn from many various sources; for though I believe the greater part of the first inhabitants of Caria to have come from the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus, I yet entertain no doubt that emigrants from many different regions had settled in that country, as well as in other provinces of Asia Minor. Thus the language was probably much mixed, and bore traces of its resemblance to the dialects of Syria, Arabia, Iran, and Turan. In order, however, that the reader may judge for himself, I shall proceed to place before him a few examples.

Strabo (L. 14.) makes mention of a temple at Mylassa, which was dedicated to Jupiter under the name of *Osogo*. I shall reserve the explana-

tion of this name for a note at the end of the chapter. (See note No. 3.)

Mylassa appears to me to be a name composed of the Scythian and Celtic word *mul*, signifying a hill, or mole, and the word *aza*, or *az*, which so frequently occurs in proper names in Asia Minor. If we refer this word to the Hebrew עז, *az*, it will signify *strong*, or *fortified*. If we derive it from the Arabic عز, *azz*, it will mean *great*, or *glorious*.

I derive the name of *Bargassa*, or *Bargaza*, (for this name is written both ways,) from برج, *barg*, *a castle*, or *town*, and *az*. The word *barg*, or *burg*, was also in use among the Scythians.

The river *Kalbis* is, I believe, still known by the name of *nahar-Kalb*, the *Dog-river*. This name, it is evident, is Syriac or Arabic.

There were two cities called *Alabanda* in Caria. One of them, we are told by Stephanus Byzantinus, was named after Alabandus, the son of Car by Callirhoë, the daughter of the river Mæander. The same author informs us that Alabandus signifies *Hipponicus* in the Carian language. He then adds—ἄλλα μὲν τὸν ἵπ-

πον, βάνδα δὲ τὴν νίκην καλοῦσιν· ἔνθα καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις βάνδον τὴν νίκην φασίν—*they (the Carians) call a horse ala, and victory banda; hence among the Romans they say bandum for victory.* The Carians must have obtained the word *ala*, a horse, from the Scythians. I find from Doctor Murray's history of languages, that *al* signifies a horse in Celtic. With regard to the word *banda* Stephanus has probably made a mistake. He has certainly done so in speaking of the word *bandum* as used by the Romans, who, when they adopted it during the lower empire, employed it to signify a banner, flag, or ensign. Suidas says, βάνδον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ σημεῖον τὸ ἐν πολέμῳ—*the Romans call bandum the ensign used in war.* This word continued to bear the same sense in later times. Thus Paulus Diaconus says in his history of the Lombards—*Tato vero Rudulphi vexillum, quod bandum appellant, abstulit.* But it is strange that none of the critics should have pointed out the origin of the word which is Persian. In this language, as both Golius and Meninski attest, بند, *band*, signifies *vexillum magnum.* We may therefore under-

stand Alabanda to mean the horse-standard—the banner of the cavalry. We learn from Cicero (De Nat. Deor. L. 3.), that Alabandus was adored in the city called after him with even more respect than was shown to the gods of the higher order.

This story is very singular, and not very credible. The etymology, as given by Stephanus, must however have been obtained from the people of the country, who still retained some knowledge of their original Scythian dialect. But the history of the son of Car, by Callirhoë the daughter of the Mæander, is a manifest fiction; and it may be suspected that Alabandus partook something of the nature of his mother, the fair-flowing fountain, and of his grandfather, the river. I am inclined to put aside the story told by Stephanus as a fable, and to think that the city, called Alabandus by the Greeks, was named by its Scythian founders, from its being situated on the banks of a mountain stream—*Alb-anda*. In a former chapter I have shown that the word *anda* probably signified *water*, *a river*, and also *a term*, or *boundary*. In a note (No. 2.) at the

end of the present chapter I shall explain myself more fully on this subject.

Arrian (L. 1.) makes mention of the city of *Myndus*, which was stormed by Alexander, with the view of obtaining more easy possession of Halicarnassus. The name of *Myndus* is to be traced to the Scythian. It signifies a heap, a pile, an accumulation; and from this Scythian *mynd*, or *mund*, have come the Latin *mundus*, and *mons*. To the same original source may be traced our own words *mount*, and *mound*.

Stephanus has said, Συάγελα, πόλις Καρίας· ἔνθα ὁ τάφος ἦν τοῦ Καρὸς, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τοὔνομα. καλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κᾶρες σοῦαν τὸν τάφον, Γέλαν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα—*Suagela, a city of Caria. Here was the tomb of Car, as the name makes manifest; for the Carians call the tomb soua, and the king Gela.* Both these words appear to have been derived from the Arabic. In that language سوا, *saoua*, or *soua*, signifies *sepultus fuit*. (*Golius in voce.*) I have already observed, that the Greeks frequently changed the oriental letter *ain* into their own *gamma*. The word عم, which signifies

exalted, glorious, illustrious, and the word علي, which signifies *an eminent person,* might consequently be pronounced *gela,* and *geli* (or rather *ghela* and *gheli,*) by the Greeks. There is also the word جلا, *gela,* (with g soft,) which signifies illustrious or eminent.

These etymologies are sufficient to prove that the ancient language of Caria was totally different from that of Greece. They likewise prove that the aborigines of Caria were not Leleges, because the Leleges, whatever might have been their original dialect, spoke Greek. As to the opinion of those who would have us to believe that the Leleges were established in various parts of Greece before the time of Deucalion, I can offer to it but little deference. Hesiod, as has been shown above, seems distinctly to intimate that the name of the Leleges was unknown in Greece before the deluge which took place in the reign of Deucalion. It is true that Hesiod speaks the language of a poet and a mythologist. Neither can we receive the origin of the name as probable, when he appears to derive it from a Greek word.

Putting aside the fabulous part of the story, it is more likely that *Leleges* is a corruption for the appellation which these companions of Deucalion bore among themselves. Other tribes of Scythians, having the same name, may have afterwards penetrated into Greece. But still it is evident that the poet considered the first appearance of the Leleges in Greece as coeval with the reign of Deucalion; and his testimony upon this point seems to me to be of greater weight than that of writers who lived many centuries after him.

Note, No. 1.—I should not have thought it necessary to have taken further notice of the passage in Bochart, in which he states that Caria was once called Phœnice, if other writers had not adopted the same notion. Bochart had a system to support, and his enthusiasm in its favour often misled his judgment, and caused him to misapply his vast erudition. Readers are therefore prepared to receive with some distrust the evidence which he adduces in proof of the extensive establishments of the Phœnicians; and the readiness with which he admits that Caria was once called Phœnice, cannot be a matter of surprise. The case, however, is different when we find the same statement made by authors, who affect never to deviate from the straight path of history, and who pretend to be scrupulous about the authorities which they cite. Thus

we should be much sooner deceived by a writer like Larcher, who possessed no imagination at all, than by Bochart, who possessed a great deal. In his *tables géographiques* Larcher says, *ce pays (la Carie) a porté, pendant quelques siècles, le nom de Phénice, ou Phénicie. Athen. Deipnos. lib.* iv. *cap.* xxiii. *pag.* 174. He consequently refers to the same authority with Bochart, who quotes the words of Athenæus. In order, however, to understand the question, the reader should be made acquainted with the preceding part of the sentence, which I render as follows—*the Phœnicians, as Xenophon says, employ pipes called gingraïnoi, a palm in length, sounding sharply and mournfully; and the Carians use these in their lamentations.* Then come the words quoted by Bochart—εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ ἡ Καρία Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς παρὰ Κορίννῃ καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ—*unless perhaps Caria were also called Phœnice, as it is by Corinna and Bacchylides.* This is the sole authority on which Bochart and Larcher found their opinion. It may be well asked, how this information escaped the notice of all the Greek historians and geographers? The truth may be probably gathered from what follows. Ptolemy mentions a district called Phœnix—Φοίνιξ Χωρίον—on the coast of Caria. Stephanus says, ἐστὶ καὶ Φοίνιξ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων Ῥόδου—*Phœnix also is not very distant from Rhodes.* Strabo (L. 13) likewise mentions a fortress called *Phœnix*, which stood on the summit of a lofty mountain, on the rugged coast of Loryma, a district belonging to Caria. This place must have preserved its name even to much later times, for it is spoken of by Nice-

phorus the Byzantine historian. Now the poets of Greece, when geography was less studied than in the age of Strabo, may have heard of this Phœnix, whether a district, a city, or ac astle, and may have either believed, or feigned, that such was the name of the whole region, and the ancient appellation of Caria. To some similar confusion of ideas I should attribute the error of those, who held that from the city *Chrysaoris* the whole of Caria had once been so denominated.

I shall take this opportunity of making some remarks on the musical pipes, which Athenæus says, on the authority of Xenophon, were in use among the Phœnicians and Carians.

The passage in Xenophon, to which Athenæus refers, is no longer extant. We learn, however, from Athenæus himself, in a subsequent passage, that the pipes were named *gingroi* by the Phœnicians, on account of the lamentations for Adonis, whom they called *Gingres*. Eustathius (*ad Iliad.* Σ.) also mentions that the *gingroi* were used in the lamentations for Adonis, whom the Phœnicians denominated *Gingris*; and we are told by Julius Pollux (*Onomast. L.* 4.) that the *gingras* produced mournful and doleful sounds; that it was invented by the Phœnicians; that it was similar to a musical instrument used by the Carians; and that this pipe was so named, because Adonis was called *Gingras* in the Phœnician language.

These statements appear to me to be totally erroneous. I cannot receive *gingras*, or *gingris*, or *gingros*, as a Phœnician word. Bochart indeed pretends that Adonis was called עיגרא, which he writes *Gigera*, and which he

says signifies *dominus* in Arabic. This is clearly a mistake. The Arabic word, to which Bochart refers, but which he so strangely alters, is غرّ, *gurret*. This word, like *adon*, signifies *lord*; but even if we suppose a reduplication, and write غوغرّ, *gugurreh*, there is no reason to believe that the Phœnicians thus designated Adonis, since *adon* in their own language signified *lord*, and they could have no occasion to borrow a word bearing that sense from the Arabic. Besides, the Arabians themselves personified the sun under the name of Adon, as is testified by the lines of Ausonius:—

Ogygia me Bacchum vocat.
Osirin Ægyptus putat.
Mysi Phanacem nominant.
Dionysum Indi existimant.
Romana sacra Liberum.
Arabica gens Adoneum.

Bochart's *Gigera* is a dream of his own imagination. We are certain that the Phœnicians employed the word *adon*. Hesychius says, Ἄδωνις, δεσπότης ὑπὸ Φοινίκων — *Adonis, dominus apud Phœnices*. In the Pœnulus of Plautus we find *donni* for *Adoni, mi domine;* and *avo donni* for *chavah Adoni, vive*, or *ave mi domine*.

Vossius is not more happy than Bochart in his account of the origin of the word *gingras*. Having observed that, according to Pollux, the small pipe in question was named after Adonis, he thus proceeds:—*dubitari tamen possit, an*

non potius Adonis a cantu gingrino nomen acceperit, quia eo lugeretur: tibia vero vocata sit γίγγρας, quia fieret ex gruis vel anseris tibia. Nam Jes. xxxviii, *et Jer.* viii, עגור *non hirundo est, aut pica; sed vel grus, vel anser. Indeque* r *in* g *converso, ut sæpe fit,* γίγγρας, *genus tibiæ, et saltationis ad eam, &c.* The same learned writer cites the authority of Philoxenus—*gingriunt anseres*—and of Festus—*gingrire anserum vocis proprium est; unde genus quoddam tibiarum exiguarum gingrinæ.* There can be no question that the word עגור in Hebrew signifies what we call in English *a bird of passage*, which quits and returns to its native country at certain seasons of the year. This sense of the word is clear from the passage in Jeremiah, to which Vossius refers; and most writers have understood it to signify *a crane.* But the name is not taken from the noise made by the bird's voice. On the contrary, עגור must have come from the root עגר, now lost in Hebrew, but still existing in Arabic, and signifying *redire, aufugere ad suos quibus assuevit.* (*Montaldi in voce* עגר, *Golius in voce* عاجر.) The etymology proposed by Festus is absurd. If the Phœnicians and Carians called a musical pipe by any word resembling *gingras*, or *gingrainos*, they certainly did not borrow the name from a Latin verb. We shall see presently the origin both of the Greek γιγγρίζειν and the Latin *gingrire.*

It appears to me that the Greeks, in stating *gingraînos* and *gingras* to have been the name of a musical pipe among the Phœnicians and Carians, from which the former called Adonis *Gingres*, or *Gingris*, have made a most extraordinary

confusion of some Oriental words, which are not very dissimilar in sound, but are totally so in signification. To trace these names to their origin, and to point out the mistakes of the Greeks, may perhaps be interesting to those who take pleasure in philological enquiries. I shall first examine the word as signifying a musical pipe, and then consider how the Greeks came to fancy that the Phœnicians had thus denominated Adonis.

The Carians, as is stated by Eustathius in his notes on Dionysius Periegetes, were in the habit of singing elegies at funerals; and Hesychius says that the *Carinæ* were chanters of mournful ditties, who bewailed the dead, and were taken from among the women of Caria. The Carians may therefore have employed the same word for funeral lamentations as the Phœnicians; especially as both appear to have borrowed the word in question from the Persians. There can be no doubt that the Chaldeans copied much of their religion, and many of their usages from the Iranians; and indeed at one period the languages of the two nations closely resembled each other, as may be proved by comparing the Chaldaic with the remains of the Pehlvi. Now the Phœnicians in their turn copied the Chaldeans, and even called some of their deities by the same names. The dialect which they spoke probably bore a yet greater affinity to the Chaldaic than to the Hebrew. Besides, the Phœnicians had much intercourse with the Persians; and Persian mercenaries appear to have been employed in the service of the Tyrians. (Ezek. xxvii.) With regard to the Carians, it may be observed that

many words in their language were pure Persian. They were likewise generally able to speak the language of their Persian masters; for according to Thucydides (L. 8.), they were usually employed as interpreters between the Persians and Greeks. It appears from Plutarch's treatise on music, that the Greeks first acquired their knowledge of that art in Asia Minor. Olympius of Mysia is said to have made them acquainted with harmony. But the inhabitants of Asia Minor were probably instructed in music by the Persians. The Indians trace the invention of music among themselves to the remote age of Rama, and ascribe its invention to the god Nared. The music of the Persians is probably not less ancient; and as some of their musical instruments (the *kenkere* for example) are the same with those of the Hindus, it is likely that the art was invented about the same time in Hindostan and in Iran. Thus the Phœnicians and Carians may have borrowed their musical terms from the Persians.

The word *gingris*, as Eustathius writes it, may have been related to the Persian, because in that language غنگ غري, *geng gri*, would signify *a mournful cry—the sound of lamentation*. Again, the word *gingraïnos*, used by Xenophon, may be traced to غنگ غرن, *geng garan*, or *geng gran, the sound of wailing—vox lamentationis*. Now the Greeks seem to have confounded these words with the names of the pipes, or trumpets, which were employed to accompany the voices of those who sang the funereal elegies. We learn from Hesychius that the Galatians called a trumpet by

the name of *karnos*, (or *karn* without the Greek termination) —κάρνον, τὴν σάλπιγγα Γαλάται. This word was probably introduced into Asia Minor immediately from the Persian, in which language *karna* and *karnai* signify a flute, or trumpet. (See Richardson's Lexicon.) But the word comes originally from *karn*, or *kern*, which in Hebrew and Arabic signifies a horn. Thus a trumpet is called in Scripture קרן יובל, *karn jubel*; because the horns of rams served for trumpets; or because trumpets were made in the form of a ram's horn. The Phœnicians or the Carians may have explained to the Greeks the words which they used in their lamentations. Thus they may have said, غنك غري, *geng gri*, signifies *the sound of lamentation*; غنك غرن, *geng garan*, or *geng gran*, signifies *the sound of wailing*; غنك قرن, *geng karan*, or *geng kran, the sound of the horn, pipe, or trumpet.* Such a lesson, however, in what they called a barbarous language, was probably too long for the volatile Greeks. They mispronounced these words; gave them, as far as they could, a Greek form; and confused them all together.

But we have yet to account for the mistake of the Greeks concerning the name of *Gingres*, or *Gingros*, which they said the Phœnicians gave to Adonis. Nothing is clearer than that this word is not Phœnician. The Greeks may have enquired of the Carians, who spoke their language, (for the Greeks could speak no language but Greek,) why they uttered their lamentations, and in whose honour they sounded their doleful pipes, and sang their mournful elegies? The

Carians may have answered, in honour of *Karan*, who is the same whom the Phœnicians call *Adon*. Neither indeed is it improbable, if the Greeks could have conversed with the Phœnicians themselves, that they would have been told that *Adon* and *Karan* bore the same meaning, and were equally names of the same mythological personage, whose death was annually lamented under the denomination of Osiris by the Egyptians; of Adon, or Adonis, by the Phœnicians; of Thammuz by the idolatrous Jews. Again, bewildered by all these barbarous words, the Greeks confused *geng gri*, *geng garan*, *geng karn*, with *Karan;* and made out that *gingras*, *gingris*, *gingros*, *gingraïnos*, were names for a musical instrument which sounded mournfully, and which was called after him, in lamenting whose death it was employed by his votaries.

It now only remains to be shown that *Karan* was a title, by which the Phœnicians probably, and the Carians more probably still, denominated Adonis.

My readers are well aware that the Phœnicians personified the sun under the name of אדון, *Adon*, or *Lord*. Now the word كارن, *karan*, or كارون, *karon*, in Persian, signifies *imperator, dux, dominus*. Xenophon (Ἑλληνικ. ἱστορ. Βιβλ. πρωτ.) tells us that Cyrus brought letters from the Persian monarch to the governments of different districts on the coast of Asia Minor, in which letters were these words—Καταπέμπω Κύρον, Κάρανον τῶν ἐς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων—*I send Cyrus, Karanos (or Karan,) of those who are assembling in Castolus*. The historian adds—τὸ δὲ Κάρανον

ἔστι Κύριον—*Karanos is the same as Lord.* Perhaps the Greeks obtained the word κοίρανος from *karan*, as it bears nearly the same meaning. In the Macedonian dialect *Korannos* signified *king*. (Κόραννος, βασιλεὺς Μακεδονίας. *Hesych.*) Meninski speaks of the word *karan* as if it were provincial, and a corruption for *khan*, which likewise signifies *lord* and *emperor*. But the quotation which I have just made from Xenophon proves the word not to have been provincial, nor peculiar to Chorasan, as Meninski seems to intimate. It would even appear from his own valuable lexicon, that *karon* was a title by which the Lydian monarch Crœsus was known to the Persians. It is a total error to represent this word as a corruption of *khan*. It comes from *karn*, which, with some slight variations, signifies *a horn* in many languages. A horn was the hieroglyph, if I may so call it, of power. Abundance of examples may be found in Scripture. Again, horns were the symbols of things great or elevated. A heap, an accumulation, a *tumulus*, thence received the appellation of *karn* from the Arabians; and to no other source is to be traced the word *kern* in the *bas Breton*; or *carn*, or *cairn*, still used in the Gaelic. The first segment of the solar disk, in rising above the horizon, is named from this word in Arabic; and in the same language the rays of the sun are called its horns. The diadems of kings were originally radiated, to imitate the diadems placed on the heads of the solar images by the worshippers of the sun; and the radiations were compared to horns, and indeed were

so called. Hence Mazochi derives the Latin *corona* from the Hebrew קרן, *keren*, or *kern*, a horn; and the Celtic *crun*, or *coron*, and originally the English *crown*, may have had the same etymon. David (1 Chron. xx.) took the golden crown from the head of Moloch, the king, the idol of the sun, represented by his votaries with the horns of a bull. (See Selden de Diis Syris.) Osiris had the horns of a bull, and Ammon those of a ram; not for the reasons stated by Diodorus Siculus, but because these deities were personifications of the solar orb in the constellations of *Taurus* and *Aries*, and because horns were symbols of the solar rays. Again, it was only because these rays were symbolised by horns, that Callimachus describes the god of light as having built a temple, in which the floor, the altar, and the surrounding wall, were studded with horns—

> Δείματο μὲν κεράεσσιν ἐδέθλια, πῆξε δὲ βωμὸν
> Ἐκ κεράων, κεραοὺς δὲ περιξ ὑπεβάλλετο τοίχους.
>
> *Cornea sternebat fundamina; cornibus ara*
> *Surgebat; cornu murum quoque duxit in orbem.*

The Carnæan Apollo was really the horned Apollo, in reference to the rays of light with which his head was surrounded, and of which horns were the types. The title of *Karan* therefore is clearly to be derived from *karn*, the horn, the symbol of glory and of power. In Hebrew קרן *karan*, signifies *splenduit, emisit radios.* (*Buxtorf. in voce.*) The prophet Habakkuk (iii. 4.) manifestly uses קרנים,

keranim, in the sense of beams of light. The Phœnicians then may have called Adonis (the representative of the sun in their mythology) by the name, or title, of *Karan*. But the Carians still more probably may have hailed the personified sun by this title, since it is clear from the testimony of Xenophon, that *karan*, signifying *lord*, must have been familiar to all the people of Asia Minor; and *Baal*, *dominus*, and *Adon*, *dominus*, were titles universally acknowledged to have been given to the sun by the worshippers of that luminary in Syria. *Karan* must therefore have been considered by the inhabitants of Asia Minor as equivalent to the Phœnician Adon; and mournful ditties may have been named after *Karan*, whose death was publicly and annually lamented in Syria and in Asia Minor. The Greeks in general seem to have changed *Karan* into *Koiranos*—the Macedonians into *Korannos*.

The Celts, originally Scythians, employ the words *kronan*, *koranan*, *koranach*, to signify a plaintive air, a song of sorrow. Whether these Celtic words ought to be traced to the name given to the mournful lays which were sung in remembrance of the death of *Karan*, or *Koran*°; or whether they ought to be traced to the Persian word *garan*, which signifies *wailing*, *lamenting*; I must leave to the decision of others; but I have little doubt that they have come from either the one or the other of these two sources.

Note, No. 2.—I have stated, in speaking of the proper

names *Dalisanda, Oroanda,* and *Alabanda,* that many names of places, cities, and rivers, in India, Persia, and Asia Minor, had their terminations in *and, anda, end, enda, ind, inda, ond, onda, und, unda.* I have likewise explained the sense to be brightness, splendour — water, a wave, a river, a brook—a term, a boundary. The first sense naturally leads to the second, as water reflects the light; and the second sense easily suggests the third, as water terminates the land, and rivers and brooks are the frequent boundaries of territorial possessions. So true is this, that my countrymen, by an obvious metonymy, call a brook a *bourne;* for the word *burn,* Scotch for a brook, is nothing else than *bourne,* a word which Shakspeare has rendered immortal. I may observe here that the words *unda* in Latin, and *ende,* or *end,* in Teutonic, serve to show that I have not been mistaken in the senses which I have affixed to the terminations mentioned above. But it is in the Sanscrit that we shall most probably find their origin, though they afterwards became united with words in the dialects spoken in Scythia, Iran, and Asia Minor. We must, however, be careful to distinguish these terminations from those which are participial; for all philologists must have remarked the frequent use of the letters *n d,* in the formation of participles and gerunds in many languages. I shall now proceed to state some examples, from which I would infer that the word in question bore in Sanscrit the senses which I have affixed to it. The sound of the vowels, in considering the origin of

words, and the powers of primitives, is of no consequence; and indeed it is only to children in philology that it can be necessary to make this remark.

I shall begin with the name of the river *Ind*, which some writers understand to signify *black*. But in order to get this signification, they must make the Sanscrit *ind* the same with the Persian *hind*, which, as far back as the time of Pliny, was frequently pronounced *sind*. The Indians themselves appear to have adopted *Hind* and *sind*; and they often call the Indus the *Hind;* and one of their words for the ocean is *sindhu*. I am however not the less disposed to think that the river was originally named from the radical, (or the *dhatu*, as the grammarians call it,) which, in its primary sense, signifies *light*, or *splendour—to shine, to enlighten*. It may be objected to me that the name of the river is written with a *da*, *Ind*, and the radical with a *dha*, *indh*. This objection is not very formidable. While a language is yet in its infancy, such distinctions are not likely to receive much attention; and in the case before us the aspirate might easily be passed over in the pronunciation of the proper name. I understand then the name of the river to have had the same primary sense with the radical, and to have signified *light, brightness, splendour*.

Now we find that in many languages water and light had the same radicals; and that in some cases the sense of both was expressed by the same word. That light is a fluid—that it flows from ignited matter, appears to have struck the understanding in the earliest times; and hence men may have

easily combined it with flowing water; and this the more readily because water reflects light, and shows on its surface the reflected splendour of the day. In Hebrew *aor* signifies light—*iaor* (which the Masorites, for some of the puerile reasons which have generally guided them, punctuate *ieor*) signifies a river; and Parkhurst rightly derives the latter from the former. In Egyptian *mouo* signifies water, and *mouoi* signifies brightness or splendour. The Persian word *ab* means water, also light and brightness. In Latin the words *lux* and *lumen* are clearly contained in *fluxus* and *flumen*. I might then argue from analogy, that the Sanscrit radical *indh* equally signified light and water. I shall however be able to support my hypothesis by stronger arguments.

Mr. Colebrooke, in his notes to the *Amera Cosha* (p. 53.), observes on one of the words in it, denoted as signifying water, that there is another reading, *kandh*; but he adds, here are two words exhibited, *ka*, or *.ku* (or *kung*), and *andh*.[1] The first of these words, (*ka*,) as appears from the *Amera Cosha* (p. 289.), signifies water; and the second (*andh*) may be stated on the same authority (p. 320.), to signify darkness—not indeed total darkness, but the obscurity which

[1] Mr. Colebrooke writes these words in Sanscrit characters, कं अध्र; but as he has not employed Roman letters, I know not whether I have written the words as he would have done himself.

prevails, for example, when night is either approaching, or retiring. *Andh* is only a variation of *indh*, which signifies light, and most probably bore originally the same meaning. Similar examples exist in other languages. The Greeks, I believe, obtained the word ἀὴρ from the Phœnician אור *aor*, light; but the Greek word indicates *obscurity* as well as *air*, by which last word we commonly translate it. *Gloom*, in our own language was originally the same as *gleam*; and the twilight is still called in the Scotch dialect the *gleaming*, or *gloaming*. But whatever were the precise primary sense of the word *andh*, it certainly enters as an integral and radical part of a word signifying water.

We may further infer the meaning of *indh*, or *ind*, as connected with water, from the name of *Indru* being given to the moon, a watery planet; and that of *Indra* to the *Jupiter Pluvius* of the Hindu mythology. Mr. Colebrooke has translated a prayer addressed to this deity, in which are these words—*O Indra, thou who pourest forth the rains!* Now I should suppose that the elements of this name must be the radicals *indh* and *ra*. This last radical signifies *to run, to flow*; and from it probably originally came the Greek ῥέω. It is in truth the same with the Scythian *rha*, whence have come the names of many rivers—*Rha, Rhymnus, Rhesus, Rhizium, Rhodius, Rheba, Rhine, Rhone*. It would seem then that the name of *Indra* was given to the god of the sky, as to him who diffused the light, and caused the rain to flow down upon the earth. The rainbow is called

Indra's bow—the water-lily, Indra's flower. *Chandra* signifies both water and the moon (*Amera Cosha*, p. 343.); but this word, it seems to me, resolves itself into *ch*, or *chu*, and *andra*; the prefix, if I may so call it, being a mere expletive. (But see the *Amera Cosha*, p. 367.) The country now called the Carnatic was once named *Andhra*; and no territory in the world is more prolific of rivers than the coast of Coromandel.

It will perhaps be objected to me, that no example exists in the writings of the Hindus, from which it appears that *indh*, or *andh*, is used to signify water. But the Sanscrit (as far as from my slight acquaintance with it I can presume to judge of its structure) must have been very different in its origin from what it has become in the sequel; and I am inclined to think that from being a very simple, it has been rendered a very complicated language. Many changes must have been made upon it, even before the *Vedas* were written. The *pandits* reckon above 1700 radicals in the language. These form the elements of verbs and nouns; are all monosyllables; and to their multiform combinations may be traced all existing words of polysyllabic conformation. But while the language was yet in its infancy, these radicals must often have stood single; and when two or more were united in one word, must have exhibited combinations of easy comprehension. In the sequel the Sanscrit certainly assumed a very different aspect; and has finally become the most perplexed and intricate of the oriental idioms. If

however a radical bore several senses, as must have been frequently the case, it would retain only one, when the number of words came to be greatly augmented, and its use in more than one sense superseded by new terms. The radicals, in order to form words, admit of prefixes, suffixes, and affixes. The sense of one *dhatu*, as it is called, is lost in its coalition with others; and must be explained by the help of another word, to which it bears no resemblance. Finally, the *dhatu* suffers such transmutations in its coalition with others, in forming nouns and verbs, by the rules of the *sundhi*, and by the *anabandhas*, as they are termed by the grammarians, that it requires all the skill of a *pandit* to detect them; and it is well if the *pandits* be always right. But it is in vain to argue, in this state of the language, that a meaning cannot be attached to certain radicals, because that meaning is expressed by other words, and because the radical is no longer in use. I find the radicals *andh* and *indh* attached to words which denote water, or are connected with that element. I admit the primitive sense of these radicals to relate to light; but I think that in a secondary sense they may have signified water. I have already shown that this supposition may be supported by analogical inferences from other languages. To the great antiquity of the Sanscrit books I by no means give credit. Doctor Murray has in my opinion very justly stated, that the Sanscrit alphabet was originally copied from the Chaldaic. The philosophy attributed to the Brahmans I believe

to have been obtained from the Greeks after the time of Alexander. Much of their mythology (as for example all that relates to Crishna) was of much later date. As for the dreams of those, who went to look for the book of Genesis in the *Vedas*, they only show the effects of ill-directed enthusiasm. To another sort of enthusiasm, and not less absurd, may be attributed the opinion of some writers, who hold that epic poems as perfect, and every way as admirable, as the Iliad, exist in the Sanscrit language. Every one knows the use which Homer has made of the Greek mythology, by the help of which he constructed his fine machinery. It does not appear that any poet has employed, or could employ to advantage the mythology of the Hindus, which exhibits nothing but a mass of confused, extravagant, and puerile fables, in which every thing is monstrous as well as incredible, and in which we look in vain for the elegance of Greek allegory, or for the learning concealed under the veil of Egyptian mystery.

But to return to the word in question. Various rivers in India had their terminations in *anda* and *inda*. Ptolemy mentions *Manda*, *Binda*, *Tindys*. The Ganges, before it joins the *Bhagirathi*, is called the *Alacananda*. Ptolemy makes mention of a town in India named *Nelkinda*. This town must have been called after a river; or Ptolemy must have mistaken the name of a river for that of a town. *Nelkinda* seems to me to be an evident corruption for *Nalkand*, *Blue water*.

I cannot help suspecting that before the language took its present form, which I believe to have happened at a much later period than is generally supposed, or than the lying pandits assert on the evidence of their lying *puranas*, the word *anda* was employed to signify *a river;* and that by transposition of the letters it became *nada*, which now bears that signification in the Sanscrit. We may observe something very similar in Arabic, in which language *anda*, or *inda*, signifies *to moisten, to make wet;* and *nada*, or *nadi*, signifies *moisture, rain*. Here the metathesis is evident.

But the radical *andh*, or *anda*, or *inda*, is found in the composition of many proper names in Persia; and so frequently does it recur in the names of cities and rivers in Asia Minor, that in treating of the provinces of that country, and of the dialects spoken by the people, it appeared impossible to pass it over in silence. That this word may have been common to the nations dwelling from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Hellespont, is by no means improbable. The introduction of Indian words and names into the languages of the various tribes that had come from beyond Mount Caucasus to people the fertile regions of Asia Minor, cannot be a matter of surprise. We accordingly find not only words, but even the proper names of places, transferred from India to the provinces of the lower Asia. Arrian mentions an Indian city called *Andraca;* and Strabo attests the existence of a city in Cappadocia also called *Andriaca*, or *Andraca*. A city in India of the

name of *Carura* is noticed by Ptolemy; and Strabo speaks of a city called *Carura* in Phrygia, which is likewise mentioned in the Peutingerian tables. There was a mountain named *Mallus*, according to Pliny, in India. A town of Cilicia, situate on the banks of the Pyramus, and bearing the same appellation, is noticed by Scylax and Pomponius Mela. A town in Pisidia was denominated *Sinda*, as appears from the catalogue of Artemidorus. *Sinda*, according to Ptolemy, was the name of a city in India beyond the Ganges, and indeed beyond the *Daona*, in the *golden region*, now known as the kingdom of Ava. We cannot perhaps in strictness rèckon Colchis in Asia Minor; but we may be surprised to find a city bearing nearly the same denomination, and the *sinus Colchicus*, represented in the ancient charts as at the extremity of the Indian peninsula. Ptolemy mentions a mountain in India to which he gives the name of *Mæander;* but this is probably an error, unless the mountain were named from a river flowing at its base.

Let us now enquire, whether we cannot explain the meaning of various names of cities and rivers in Asia Minor, in which names the word *anda* or *inda* occurs. The general sense which I affix to this word is water.

Strabo makes mention of a stream in the Troas, the name of which he hellenises into *Andrios*. The real appellation of this stream was probably *And-ri;* and was composed of the words *andh*, or *ar d*, and *ri*, which last word signifies *flow-*

ing. The name therefore would be equivalent to *flowing water; a river.* Streams often received their names merely from their motion. Thus *Rha* signifies *flowing*. The same river is now called *Volga;* and this name is composed of two radicals, the first signifying *to roll,* and the second *to go*. The *Cur* was so called, not after Cyrus, as has been idly supposed, but from the strength of its current, or perhaps from its *winding* course. The name of the *Ganga,* which the English call *Ganges,* signifies neither more nor less than *going;* being the repeated participle of the Sanscrit verb *gan, to go*.

We have seen that *Mæander* was originally an Indian name. Ptolemy indeed has given this appellation to a mountain; but the words *and,* water, and *ar, to run, to flow,* seem clearly to enter into its composition.

Alander, according to Livy, was the name of a river in Phrygia. The word *al,* in Persian and Turkish, (and probably in the ancient dialects of Iran and Scythia,) is explained by Meninski, as signifying *a red, or yellow, colour*. The name before us consequently resolves itself into *al-and-er—red, or yellow, flowing water*. That proper names should have been composed from different dialects cannot be considered as extraordinary in a country where the inhabitants were of a mixed race, descended from emigrants from various regions of the world. The name of the *Alander* was therefore equivalent to *Red-river*, or *Yellow-river*.

The city of *Alinda*, the residence of queen Ada in the

time of Alexander, was probably so named from a river near which it was placed. *Alinda* was situated in the interior of Caria, near the borders of Lycia, and could not have been far from the sources of the Lycian Xanthus. Now the same river may have been called Xanthus by the Greeks, and *Alinda* by the natives, since both names would indicate *the yellow water*. It also bore the Arabic name of *Zarbeh*, written *Sirbe* by Strabo, which has the same meaning.

The etymology of the name of *Andraca* presents considerable difficulties, on account of its termination in *aca*. This word, or rather radical, if referred to the Sanscrit *ak*, would signify sinuous. (See Carey's list of *dhatus*.) Consequently *Andraca* would be equivalent to *winding river*. But if the word were borrowed from the Median dialect, it would signify *white river*. Finally, *aka* was a word which I think must have signified water in the dialects of Asia Minor; and in this case we should have a reduplication, not uncommon in mixed languages, of the same term.

Andrapa was a city of Paphlagonia. The Greeks, however, may have confounded the name of a town with that of a river near it. Perhaps the city may have been named from a river, as was very frequently the case. The appellation seems evidently to belong to a river; and appears to me to include a reduplication of the word for water, and to have been originally Sanscrit, in which language *ap*, or *apa*, signifies water.

Caryanda, according to Strabo, was a city of Caria, and situated near a lake. The name may have been formed from the Scythian word *kara*, or *karu*, and *anda*. The place, therefore, was known by a name equivalent to *Black-water*.

The town in Lycaonia called *Laranda* may have been so named from its being placed near a torrent. In Persia we find a city called, probably for the same reason, *Lar*, which word signifies *a torrent*, also *a water-course*. The district named *Laristan* received its appellation from the torrents with which it abounds. *Lar-anda* signifies literally *torrent-water*.

The Carian village named *Labranda* was probably so called from its situation. *Lab*, in Persian, signifies *lip, edge, bank;* and *Labranda* is a name which resolves itself into *lab-ra-anda, the edge of the flowing water*, and is consequently equivalent to *River-edge*.

I consider *Alabanda* as a corruption for *Alb-anda*. This name, when analysed, appears to be composed of the Scythian word *alb, a mountain*, and *anda, water;* and the place probably received its appellation from its vicinity to some mountain stream. Strabo, indeed, says that Alabanda was overhung by hills; and I see from Rennell's map, that a mountain stream, which falls into the Mæander, must have flowed not far from its walls. If, however, others should understand *alb-anda* to signify *the white river*, I shall not object to the explanation.

Oroanda, a town in Pisidia, may have been so called from its position near a channel of running water. The name resolves itself into the Persian word *awrah*, or *aora*, a *canal*, or *water-course*, and *anda*, *water*. One of the Persian names of the river Tigris, and which I have neglected to mention in my first volume, was اروند, *Aroand*, or *Arwand*, and not ارفند, *Arphand*, as some have written it. I rather think, however, that this name was originally given to one of the great canals which united the Tigris with the Euphrates.

The name of the river *Arycandus* in Lycia seems to have been derived from an Indian source, and to be composed of the radical *ar*, *flowing*, and *kand*, *water*. It is to be observed that both *ar* and *ra*, which have the same meaning, are sounds imitative of the noise of running water.

The name of *Calinda*, written *Calynda* by Stephanus, was probably descriptive of the situation of the city. I know not whether we can trust to what Strabo says concerning it, when he tells us that *Calymna* (as he erroneously writes the name, and in contradiction to Herodotus, Ptolemy, and Stephanus) was placed at the distance of 60 stadia from the sea. Be this, however, as it may, *Calinda* was situate between Telmessus and Caunus. As well as I can judge, from comparing the inaccurate map of Cellarius, in which the position of *Calinda* is fixed, with the more accurate map of Rennell, in which, however, it is strangely omitted, I should think that this city was placed on the banks of a river which runs into a small bay, surrounded on three

sides by the land. Neither, if we follow Cellarius, could it have been so far as six or seven miles from the sea; and we may probably calculate on being right, if we read ἑξ, *six*, for ἑξήκοντα, *sixty*, stadia, in Strabo's text. It is, however, enough for my purpose, that *Calinda* was situate on the banks of a river, and certainly at no great distance from an inlet of the sea, well protected by mountains from the winds. Now, I understand *Calinda* to be composed of the words *kala*, and *anda*, or *inda*. The word *kala* (כל) is thus explained by the lexicographers: *locus contra ventos tutus; ut fluminis ripa—portus—tuta navium statio.* The name, therefore, indicates waters that were sheltered by their position from the winds.

I must now leave the reader to decide, whether or not I have succeeded in showing that the word *anda*, or *inda*, was frequently used to signify water, both *on this side of the Indus, and beyond* it.

Note, No. 3.—Strabo (L. 14.) informs us that the inhabitants of Mylassa in Caria had two temples, one of Jupiter called *Osogo*, (τοῦ τε Ὡσογὼ καλουμένου,) and the other of Jupiter called *Labrandenus*. In speaking of fountains of salt water, which rose from under the ground in different temples of Neptune, Pausanias (L. 8.) mentions one at Mylassa in Caria, which existed in the temple of the God, ὃν φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίᾳ καλοῦσιν Ὀγώα—*whom, in the dialect of the country, they call Ogoa.* Whether *Osogo*, or *Ogoa*, (for it is

clear that both Strabo and Pausanias meant to speak of the same deity,) were a Carian word, I shall soon proceed to examine; and shall only observe, for the present, that Pausanias here distinctly admits that there was a native idiom in Caria. Neither can the word φωνὴ be understood to signify *pronunciation*, as he employs it here. It evidently means *speech*, or *language*; because no such name as *Ogoa* can be referred to the Greek, and therefore we cannot understand Pausanias to indicate that any Greek name was so pronounced by the Carians.

The word *og* entered into the names of several deities, as well as of some remarkable personages, in ancient times. The Greeks pretended that the Phœnicians called Minerva Ὄγκα, *Ogka*, pronounced *Onca*. Thus Stephanus Byzantinus says — Ὄγκα, Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ Φοίνικας — *Onca, Minerva among the Phœnicians*. But the Phœnicians, if the Greek orthography be right, must have adopted a foreign deity; for this name cannot be traced to any root which could be applicable here, in the cognate dialects. Bochart would, indeed, derive it from the Syriac אגה, *aggah, pugnare*; an etymology which appears to me untenable.

Lucian says that the Celts named Hercules *Ogmios* in their vernacular language. The indefatigable Bochart brings this name from an Arabic word, which he writes in Chaldaic characters, and which he says was the name given by the Arabians to strangers and barbarians. But the word غ in Arabic is to be sounded with the soft *g*, and is to be pro-

nounced *ajem*; whereas עגם would sound *aghem*. There is not, therefore, even the similitude of sound to justify this etymology. Besides, there can be no reason for supposing that the Celts called their Hercules a barbarian. I have shown in my second volume, that he was, on the contrary, a very civilised person; and much more so than the Hercules of the Greeks.

Thus, then, we have three deities of antiquity into whose names the word *og* enters: the *Ogoa*, or *Osoga*, of the Carians—the *Ogka*, or *Onca*, of the Phœnicians—the *Ogmius* of the Celts. To these we may add the Apollo Ὀγκαίος, *Oncæus*, or Ὀγκαιάτος, *Oncæatus*, of whom mention is made by Pausanias (L. 8.), and to whom a grove and a temple were dedicated in Arcadia, at *Oncæa*, a district in that country, so named, as Stephanus tells us, from *Oncus*, who reigned there. But this *Oncus* was the son of Apollo, and perhaps the name should have been rather given to the god himself.

Among the celebrated persons into whose names this word is introduced, we may begin with one, which is עוג, *Aug*, or *Oug*, and commonly pronounced *Og*, the appellation given in Scripture to the giant king of *Basan*, or *Bashan*. Some persons have thought, and probably with reason, that *Bashan* is an abbreviation of *Bith-Shan*. Vossius derives the name of the king of Bashan from the verb עוג, (*ussit*,) which is written with the same letters.

We may now speak of *Ogyges*, who according to Julius

Africanus and Eusebius, flourished in the time of Moses. (Euseb. Chron. L. 1. Præp. Evang. L. 10.) This point is strongly contested by Syncellus; but they are all agreed that Ogyges (or Ogygos, as Syncellus writes the name,) was the most ancient king of Attica, which before his time had been called *Acté*. Pausanias (L. 9.), however, says that the Bœotian Thebais was originally possessed by the *Ectanæ*, of whom Ogygos was king. It is clear that the *Ectanæ* were of the same race with the inhabitants of *Acté* just mentioned; and it seems strange that the commentators should not have perceived this. (See the note of Kuhnius, p. 719.) But if we assent to these different statements, and suppose Ogyges to have been the first king of Bœotia, as well as of Attica, we must still be embarrassed when we are told by Pausanias that he was a native of the former country, and by Syncellus that he was a native of the latter. Neither are chronographers agreed about the time when he reigned, though the famous deluge, which happened during his reign, might have served to indicate the epoch when this extraordinary event took place, and when the planet Venus, as we learn from Varro, quitted its usual orbit, and approached towards the earth. Our difficulties with respect to Ogyges are, however, not to stop here. According to Castor, a chronographer of great repute, Ogyges was king of the Titans. (See the Armenian version of Eusebius, L. 1.) Tzetzes, the learned scholiast of Lycophron, informs us that Ogyges was the son of Neptune and Alistra, and that he

was a native of the Egyptian Thebes. According to one historian, to whom Tzetzes refers, Ogyges was king of that city (Ὠγυγὸς Θηβῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦν βασιλεὺς); and when he went to Greece, he took with him the seven gates, which were thence called Ogygian gates. These were placed in the walls of the Bœotian Thebes. It is to be observed that Hesychius mentions the Ogygian gates, and derives the name from Ὄγκα, Minerva. Ogygia, as we learn from Stephanus Byzantinus, was one of the ancient names of Egypt; though I should think rather of the Nile, (always called *Aiguptos* by Homer,) than of the country. Pausanias tells us, that the Bœotian Thebes was called Ogygian; and Nonnus (Dionys. L. 5.) says distinctly, that this city was named by Cadmus after the Egyptian Thebes.

How far the history of Ogyges, and of the deluge which took place during his reign, may be considered as worthy of credit, I shall leave others to determine; but I think it clear that his name is not of Greek origin, and that it must be referred to the same root as that from which Ogoa and Ogmios are derived.

We have obtained the word *ocean* from the French, they from the Latins, and the Latins from the Greeks, who commonly used the word ὠκεανὸς, *okeanos*, but who appear in more ancient times to have pronounced it ὤγενος, *ogenos*; and at perhaps a yet earlier period, ὠγήν, *ogēn*. Thus Pherecydes, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. L. 6.), says, Ζὰς ποιεῖ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει

γῆν καὶ ὠγῆνον, καὶ ὠγήνου δώματα—*Zas* (Jupiter) *makes a great and fair mantle, and embroiders in it the earth and ocean, and ocean's habitations.* It is clear that *ogenos* in this passage can mean nothing but *ocean*, as I have rendered it. If, however, any doubt existed, it must be removed by Hesychius, who explains ὠγὴν by ὠκεανός.

But the Greeks appear to have gotten the words *ogen, ogenos, okeanos*, from the Egyptians. Diodorus Siculus says, Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι Ὠκεανὸν εἶναι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν Νεῖλον—*the Egyptians consider Okeanos to be their river Nile.* I have shown in my second volume, that the orthography ought to be (and indeed is in the Mss.) *Okeanos.*

I shall now proceed to point out the origin of all these various names, *Ogoa, Osoga, Ogmius, Ogen*, and *Ogka* or *Onca.*

Diodorus Siculus says that the ancients denominated humidity, or what is watery, *okeane*—τὸ δ' ὑγρὸν ὀνομάσαι λέγουσι τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὠκεάνην. This remark is erroneous, inasmuch as that *okeane*, or rather *okeame*, is a compound word. I think that in primitive speech there must have existed a word sounded variously *ag, ak, og, ig*, &c., which denoted action and motion. It also indicated accumulation —motion and action that heap up, and raise up. In Sanscrit this radical implies winding or tortuous motion. It seems to enter, in many languages, into words signifying the elements of fire and water, and consequently into those denoting heat and humidity. The motion of flame, as well as that of water, would naturally strike the attention of the

first formers of languages. The accumulation of fire in the numerous volcanos which existed in ancient times, and the aggregation of waters in the sea, also contributed to the introduction of this radical into words signifying those elements.

It cannot be necessary to point out the frequent introduction of this radical into words denoting the primary sense which I attribute to it—such as *aggregation, accumulation, augmentation.*

Used in its secondary sense of expressing what burns, what is hot, we find it introduced into various languages. Thus we have the Hebrew *aog*, or *og*, (*ussit,*)—the Arabic *ak*, (*fervidus,*)—the Sanscrit *aganvar*, (*fire,*)—the Sclavonic *ogani*, (*fire,*)—the Latin *ignis.*

This radical, used to signify an accumulation or aggregation of water, which is one of its secondary senses, may likewise be found in different languages. It will be now my object to show, that it existed in this sense in the ancient dialects of Greece and Egypt.

Macrobius (Saturnal. L. 5.) argues that Virgil employed the word *Acheloïa* as equivalent to water, or rather watery, in the following verse—

Poculaque inventis Acheloïa miscuit uvis.

He shows that this great poet copied the expression from Aristophanes. He likewise cites Ephorus the historian, and Didymus the grammarian, who fully prove that the name of *Achelous* signified water, and was so understood by the ancient Greeks. A remark, however, which has been made

by Julius Scaliger, who, though not so able a critic as his son, was a man of great learning, appears to me to explain the matter very fully. The Latin word *aqua*, according to Scaliger, comes from an obsolete Greek word ἀχὲ, or ἀχὴ, which bears the same meaning. The etymology, therefore, of Ἀχελῶος, or Ἀχελώϊος, is clear; and the name is to be traced to ἀχὲ, or ἀχὴ, *aquâ*, and λούω, *lavo*. But this last word is to be understood in a particular sense; and *ache-lous* means water used for expiatory purposes, and for ablutions, when employed in its strict signification, though often taken, as has been stated above, to indicate water in general. Thus, though the Greeks, in ancient times, seem to have considered *achelous* as a general term for water, they yet used it principally, as Ephorus intimates, in their oaths and prayers, and when they performed their ablutions, in offering sacrifices, and in celebrating the sacred rites.

It seems highly probable, then, to say the least of it, that *aché*, or *oché*, was an ancient Greek word, which signified water, and which entered into the word *okeanos*, as may be inferred from the passage cited from Diodorus. This radical, which might easily vary in sound, and be differently pronounced *ach*, *ag*, *ak*, (and with any other vowel instead of the *a*,) appears to have been lost as a separate vocable, and is only now to be found in composition. I think, however, that we may trace it in various words which relate to water —ἀγάῤῥοος, *aqua currens vel æstuosa*—ἀκτὴ, *littus*—ὀχετεύω, *rivos duco*—ὀχέτευμα, *aquæductus*—ὄχθα, *ripa*—ὀχετὸς, *canalis*—ὑγρὸς, *humidus*—ὑγρὴ, *mare*.

But the Greeks took their words *ogen, ogenos, okeanos,* from the Egyptians. A word, therefore, similar in sound, and denoting water, probably existed in the ancient language of Egypt.

The 2d verse of the 41st chapter of the book of Genesis is thus rendered in the English version of the Bible: *And behold, there came up out of the river seven well-favoured kine and fat-fleshed; and they fed in a meadow.* In the 11th verse of the 8th chapter of the book of Job we read the following words—*can the flag grow without water?* But the word translated *a meadow* in the book of Genesis is the same which is translated *the flag* in the book of Job. It is clear that the sense of the original word has been mistaken in either the one or the other of these two passages. This original word is אחו, *achu;* and it is rendered by ⲁϧⲓ, *achi,* in the Coptic version. We may then conclude that the word was originally Egyptian, and was adopted by the Hebrews; and indeed it only occurs three times in the whole Hebrew Scriptures, and each time, as I think, with evident reference to what was Egyptian. Jerome translates the words in Genesis—*et pascebantur in locis palustribus*: those in Job —*aut crescere carectum sine aqua?* The following information is given to us by this writer: *Quum ab eruditis quærerem,* says he, *quid hic sermo (nempe achu, vel achi,) significaret, audivi ab Ægyptiis hoc nomine lingua eorum omne quod in palude virens nascitur, appellari.* (*in Isaiam L.* 7.) Thus there can be no doubt that the word was Egyptian.

The LXX indeed have retained it; and write ἐν τῷ ἄχει. Now it appears to me, that this word, *achi*, signified a pool, a lake, a marsh, and was particularly applied to marshes in Egypt, where water-plants grew in great abundance. In Genesis we are told that the kine, of which mention is made, *fed*, באחו, *in an achu*—that is, they were feeding in a marsh. In the words—ישגה אחו בלי־מים, cited from the book of Job, *achu*, a marsh, is put by metonymy for what grows in it—*will sedge grow without water?* It remains, however, to be considered whether the meaning be not—*will a marsh augment without water?*

But it seems certain to me that there was a word resembling *achu*, or *achi*, though not existing in Coptic, which signified a great collection, or aggregation, of waters. Neither do I think it very unlikely that this may have been the original meaning of *achi*, which Jerome himself translates by *locus palustris*. That *achi* did signify a marsh in its literal sense, and not the plants which the marsh produces, I shall presently prove; but I must repeat that I believe the proper signification of the word to have been any great collection of water—a large river, a lake, a sea.

Diodorus Siculus (L. I.) tells us that the Egyptians fabled certain water-meadows to be the habitation of the dead. The place was beside the Acherusian pool, near Memphis, and was surrounded with fair water-meadows abounding with sedges, the lotus, and the cane. He likewise informs us that dead bodies were ferried over the river, and over the

Acherusian pool, in order to be deposited in tombs on the side where the meadows above-mentioned were situate. The historian then proceeds ingeniously to show, that from this place the Greeks had taken their descriptions of the infernal regions.

Now this Acherusian pool seems to have been the place where the kine were feeding, as seen by Pharaoh in his dream. The kine fed in an *achu*, by which I understand that they stood in the shallow parts of the pool, near its banks, where they fed on the plants which grew in the water.

If I do not much mistake the etymology of the word *Acherusia*, it will clearly prove that *ache*, *achu*, or *achi*, signified water, a marsh, a pool, a large collection of waters. Certain it is that the Acherusian pool was of considerable size and depth, since it was crossed in the vessel called *baris*, in which the coffins of the dead were placed, and which required to be conducted by a pilot.

The name of *Acherusia* seems to me to be composed of *ache*, or *achi*, water, a lake, a marsh; and *rooui*, a cane, a reed; to which may have been added *sai*, or *si*, abundance. (See Woide's Coptic Lexicon.) These words, I think, might have been the elements of the name, which we may therefore understand to signify a lake abounding with water-plants, Αχι-ρωουι-σι. The Greeks, however, probably changed the termination; and perhaps we can only be sure of *achi*, or *ache*, a lake, and *rooui*, a cane, or reed, or bulrush, entering into the name. From this name that of

Acheron was evidently derived. But the Greeks may have altered the original sounds; and in order to bring them as much as possible within the limits of their own language, may have pronounced *Acherusia*, as derived from ἀχὲ and ῥεῦσις, and *Acheron*, as derived from ἀχὲ and ῥόος: in both examples signifying *aqua fluens vel æstuosa;* and having the obsolete word ἀχή, or ἀχὲ, *aqua*, and ῥέω, *fluo*, for the roots, whence the names proceeded.

I have now, I think, made it clear, that a word, which might have been variously sounded, *ach*, *ache*, *achi*, *ag*, *aga*, *ak*, or *ake*, and the vowel *a* exchanged for any other, *ech*, *ich*, *och*, *uch*, *eg*, *ig*, *og*, *ug*, &c., and signifying water, or any aggregation or accumulation of waters, whether in the sea, in lakes, or in rivers, once existed in the ancient languages of Greece and Egypt. Let us now, therefore, proceed to examine the several names mentioned above.

One of the most ancient names of the Nile was *Okeamé*, or *Okeami*. The sea appears to have received the same name from the Egyptians; but the Greeks altered it to *Ogēn*, *Ogenos*, and *Okeanos*. I must here make some difference from the etymology which I have proposed in my second volume. I think that the name *Okeami* was originally composed of *achi*, or *ak*, or *ochi*, or *ok*, or *og*, signifying water, a great accumulation of water, and *kame*, *chame*, or *chemi*, black. Consequently *Achi*, or *Ochi-kame*, or *ok-chemi*, would signify *Black-water;* and every one knows that the epithet of black was frequently given to the Nile.

The worship of Hercules was probably introduced into Gaul either by the Phœnicians or by the Egyptians. The word *Ogmius* must have been an epithet, and signified either the Ocean Hercules, (that is to say, who had arrived by sea,) or the Nilotic Hercules.

I have hitherto spoken of the name of Ὄγκα, as being connected with the others which I had occasion to mention; and the Greeks evidently considered it as having the same source with Ogyges. But I am convinced that the name of *Onca* is to be traced to a different root. Misled by the sound, the Greeks mistook the orthography. The goddess, who received her appellation from the Phœnicians, and whom the Greeks thought to be the same with their Athena, was probably called עֻנְקָא, *Onka;* and it might be difficult for the Greeks to have understood, how by writing Ὄγκα, they falsified the orthography. This error might have proceeded from the nasal sound which the Orientalists give to the letter ain or gnain.

The name of *Ogyges*, or *Ogygos*, is nothing else than a Greek corruption of the obsolete Egyptian word *Achi*, *Ochi*, or *Og*, or *Ug*, signifying water, and here repeated to indicate the immense quantity of water. In all very ancient languages reduplication occurs to denote intensity, quantity, and even plurality.

Ogoa denotes water; *Os-ogo* (either from the Egyptian *osh*, or the Phœnician *oz*, and *ogo*) signifies much, strong, or impetuous water. The reader may consult Pausanias,

and he will probably agree with me, that the temple at Mylassa was dedicated to Neptune, rather than to Jupiter.

With regard to the epithet of *Labrandenus*, given to Jupiter by Strabo, I think there must be a mistake. If Jupiter received this appellation, it must have been as belonging to the city of Labranda, and not to the city of Mylassa. But a temple so called, as situate on the bank of a river, might have been dedicated at Mylassa to Jupiter, who, if I mistake not, was termed στράτιος, *military*. I am aware that Plutarch (in Quæst. Græc.) has derived the name of *Labrandenus* from a Lydian word *labrys*, which, he says, signifies *a hatchet*. But would Jupiter have exchanged the thunderbolt for a hatchet? This is probably a dream of Plutarch's.

CHAPTER VII.

Concerning the Lydians.

THE territory of Lydia, including part of Æolia, and part of Ionia, was bounded on the west by the Ægean sea; on the south by Caria; on the east by Phrygia Major; and on the north by Mysia. Its principal rivers were the Hermus, the Pactolus, the Caystrus, the Mæander, which divided it from Caria, and to these, if we consider Æolia as a district of Lydia, we may add the Caicus. Herodotus (L. 1.) speaks highly of the climate of Ionia, and prefers it to that of all the regions around it.

The same historian, having stated that Agron was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned at Sardis, proceeds to give us the following infor-

mation: οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρης, ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος· ἀπ' ὅτου ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος πρότερον Μήων καλεόμενος,—*the kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus the son of Atys, after whom this whole people, previously called Meonian, was denominated Lydian.*

Xanthus, the Lydian historian, cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (L. 1.) so far agrees with Herodotus, as to say that Lydus gave his name to the nation over which he ruled. But if these two ancient writers be accurate in relating this fact, it will be difficult to reconcile it to the system of chronology, which has been founded on their own historical statements. How, it may be asked, has it happened, that Homer gives the appellation of Meones to the inhabitants of the country, and that the name of Lydia no where occurs in the Iliad? During the Trojan times the Lydians, as we learn from Strabo (L. 13.), were called Meones—Λυδοὶ δὲ τότε Μήονες. Now all chronographers are agreed in placing the reign of Lydus before the war of Troy, with the exception of those who reject

the historical account of Herodotus, and consider Lydus as a descendant of Hercules.

I am, for my own part, much disposed to believe, that the native inhabitants of the country were originally called Lydians; that they exchanged this name for that of Meones, or Meonians, in honour of the king, real or imaginary, who bore the denomination of Man, Manes, or Meon; and that they resumed their ancient appellation, during the period when the throne was occupied by the dynasty of the Mermnadæ.

The Lydians were probably Semites by origin. We find the following words in the Book of Genesis—*Filii Sem: Ælam, et Assur, et Arphaxad, et Lud, et Aram.* Here I understand the sacred writer to point out the five great nations which were descended from Sem; and not his sons, or immediate offspring. This opinion is confirmed by the names themselves. Thus Ælam and Arphaxad, for example, could not have been appellations of the sons of the patriarch; the first being a Hebrew corruption for the name of Persia, called Iran in the East;

and the second being compounded of two Median words. (See note No. 1.) These corruptions of the real appellations were already in existence, as it appears, before the time of Moses, and are to be understood as applied by him to the nations which were descended from Sem.

Josephus (Antiq. l. 1.) has said—οὗς δὲ Λύδους νῦν καλούσι, Λούδους δὲ τότε, Λούδας ἔκτισε—*Loudas* (meaning Lud the son of Sem) *founded those who were then called Loudoi, but now Lydoi.* The Jewish antiquary has literally understood the sacred historian to mean, that Sem had a son called Lud, from whom the Lydians were descended; but I am of opinion that Moses merely intended to say that the people, called Ludim by the Hebrews, were descended from the patriarch Sem. It is, however, evident from the authority of Scripture, and from the statement of Josephus, that the name of the Ludim was one of very great antiquity.

Thus I do not attempt to establish an hypothesis on mere conjecture, when I argue that the Lydians originally bore that name, which

they might have exchanged for Meones, or Meonians; and might have again resumed, when the dynasty of the Atyadæ, and perhaps that of the Heraclidæ, had ceased to exist.

Before I proceed to speak of the history of the Lydian monarchy, it may be necessary to say something of the chronology; because, though all my readers may have a general idea of the historical outline, yet some may not have bestowed attention on the chronological difficulties, which, on a nearer examination, render it not very easy to give full credit to the facts which are recorded.

It is well observed by Freret, that the epoch of the ruin of the kingdom of the Lydians ought to serve as the basis of all their chronology. Three dynasties had already reigned over Lydia —the Meonian; that of the Heraclidæ; and that of the Mermnadæ; which last began with Gyges, and ended with Crœsus.

Chronographers have disputed with much earnestness, and at great length, concerning the exact date when Crœsus was defeated and taken prisoner by Cyrus. According to the

calculation which is made by some writers, on the authority of Sosicrates, cited by Diogenes Laertius in his life of Periander, this event is supposed to have happened in the 4th year of the 58th Olympiad, 545 years before the Christian æra. These writers are not agreed about the testimony of the Parian Marbles; but Eusebius has likewise fixed the defeat of Crœsus, and the surrender of Sardis, for the year 545 before Christ. Among the moderns, Archbishop Usher and M. Desvignoles think that these events coincided with the year 548 before Christ, or the first year of the 58th Olympiad. Chronologers in general, however, have adopted the reckoning believed by them to be founded on the authority of Sosicrates. Petavius, indeed, deducts one year from the period, and supposes the epoch in question to have coincided with the year 544 before our æra. The exact precision with which some writers affect to speak of dates in the ancient history of the world, appears to me to be too often nothing better than misplaced pedantry.

In the case before us there is no sufficient

authority for determining the year when Crœsus became the captive of the Persian monarch. The passage, to which reference is made, in the copies taken from the Parian Marbles, is too much altered from the defaced original to afford any certain evidence; and those, who adopt the reading as restored by Chandler, adopt the numbers, not as they are really found on the stone, but as they have been supplied by the conjectures of that learned man. The words as edited signify—*From the time that Crœsus sent out of Asia to Delphi, there were* 292 *years; Euthydemus being archon at Athens.* The date of the archonship of Euthydemus is stated by Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Chilo, and on the authority of Sosicrates already mentioned, to have corresponded to the 55th Olympiad. But the year is not indicated. Besides, the question before us would not be decided by this statement, even if the year had been designated by Diogenes; because we should then learn the exact date when Crœsus sent to Delphi, but not when that monarch was dethroned.

The passage, in the same writer, (to be found

in his life of Periander,) from which it is argued that the defeat of Crœsus happened in the 4th year of the 58th Olympiad, 545 years before Christ, is not sufficiently clear to authorise the conclusion which is drawn from it:—*Σωσικράτης δὲ φησὶ πρότερον Κροίσου τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔτεσι τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑνὶ, πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐννάτης Ὀλυμπίαδος.* M. Larcher, who quotes these words, says—*Sosicrates de Rhodes assure que Périandre mourut* 40 *ans avant Crésus, et un an avant la quarante-neuvième Olympiade. Que Sosicrates se soit trompé ou non sur l'année de la mort de Périandre, c'est une question que je n'examine point ici. Il n'en résulte pas moins qu'il croyoit qu'il étoit mort* 40 *ans avant que Crésus eût été fait prisonnier, et en la quatrième année de la quarante-huitième Olympiade, et que Crésus avoit été détrôné en la quatrième année de la cinquante-huitième Olympiade.* In order no doubt to justify his explanation, M. Larcher has placed the comma after *τετταράκοντα*, which, in following the text in the edition of Kraus, I have put after *ἑνί*. M. Larcher must therefore have translated the passage thus: *Sosicrates*

says that he (Periander) died 40 years before Crœsus, and one year before the 49th Olympiad. There may be reason to question whether this be the sense, and whether indeed the words can bear this construction. The following is the Latin version of Kraus: *Sosicrates cum ante Crœsum obiisse diem adserit, quadraginta et uno annis ante quadragesimam nonam Olympiadem.* I agree with neither of these writers. I place the comma after αὐτὸν, and I translate the passage as follows: *Sosicrates says, that he (Periander) died before Crœsus, forty and one years before the forty-ninth Olympiad.* The exact epoch of the death of Crœsus cannot be ascertained from this passage. We must be satisfied with taking the testimony of ancient authors as we find it. It would be convenient for those who hold the Lydian monarchy to have been overthrown in the year 545, before our æra, to have the authority of Sosicrates in favour of the system of chronology which they have adopted; but I am unable to extract from his words the meaning which these chronologists wish to assign to them.

M. Larcher accuses Eusebius of being inconsistent in his evidence with regard to this subject; but the learned Frenchman seems not to have spoken with his usual caution and accuracy. Eusebius (Chron. L. 2.) distinctly places the defeat of Crœsus in the year 545 before Christ. The consideration of a moment will make this clear. He reckons 2015 years from the birth of Abraham to the nativity of Christ; and fixes the year 1470 after the birth of Abraham for that in which Crœsus was taken prisoner, and in which the Lydian monarchy came to its termination. I cannot find that he any where contradicts this account.

The statement of Syncellus varies from that of Eusebius. According to Syncellus, the Lydian monarchy commenced in the year of the world 4735 (δψλε), and terminated in the year 4967 (δϡξϛ), having lasted 232 (σλβ) years. Goar, in his Latin version, has made his author say that the monarchy terminated in the year of the world 4966; because this translator no doubt supposed the *episemon vau* to be equivalent to the number 6; but though it be clear that

in the series of original Cadmean letters, the *episemon vau* must have been placed before the ϛ; yet when used as a numerical sign, the ϛ frequently takes the priority. In the case before us we must either understand Syncellus to have meant 4967 by the alphabetic numerals (if I may so call them) δϡξϛ or suppose him to have committed a palpable error in his arithmetic. Now if the termination of the Lydian monarchy coincided with the year of the world 4967, according to Syncellus, it must also, according to the same chronographer, have taken place in the year 533 before our æra; because Syncellus held the year of the world 5500 to have been that in which Christ was born.

I now leave it to my readers to judge, whether, or not, we can speak with certainty of the exact year, when Crœsus was defeated, and when Lydia ceased to be an independent kingdom. But since the greater number of modern chronologers seem to be of opinion, that these events happened in the year 545 before Christ, let us assume this as the epoch, which has been the object of our researches.

We find in the first book of Herodotus the names of the five kings of the dynasty of the Mermnadæ. The historian has likewise mentioned the number of years during which each of these princes reigned. Gyges reigned during 38 years—Ardys, during 49—Sadyattes, during 12—Alyattes, during 57—Crœsus, during 14 years and 14 days. Thus we may reckon the whole period at 170 years and 14 days, and date the extinction of the Heraclidæ from the year 715 before Christ.

We are told by Herodotus, that Candaules, the last king of the dynasty of the Heraclidæ, was descended from Hercules through Alceus; for Agron, says the historian, son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alceus, son of Hercules, was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned at Sardis, as Candaules was the last. This family, adds the same writer, had held the sovereignty, from father to son, for 22 generations, during a period of 505 years. It follows that the Heraclidæ began to reign over Lydia in the year 1220 before Christ.

I think it unnecessary to oppose to the chro-

nology thus established by Herodotus, the statements to be found in Eusebius and Syncellus. The first of these two chronographers allows only 290 years for the duration of the Lydian monarchy; the second abridges the period to 232 years. The authority of the father of history has been generally admitted upon this subject; and he certainly might have possessed better means of being acquainted with it than either of the Christian authors. It is, however, surprising that, knowing as they must have done, his account of the kings of Lydia, they should have adopted another, which differs from it in so very considerable a degree, as to omit all mention of the names of the two dynasties of the Atyadæ and of the Heraclidæ. Candaules and three of his predecessors are named by Eusebius, but not as the descendants of Hercules.

The account, it must be confessed, which Herodotus has given to us of the Heraclidæ who ruled over Lydia, is not a little extraordinary; and his statements, both historical and chronological, with regard to the genealogy of

that family, may have appeared to the bishop of Cæsarea to be unworthy of credit. It is indeed difficult to imagine of what incompatible things the father of history had been dreaming, when he placed Belus and Ninus among the descendants of Hercules. That readers, who are no critics, and who are of easy faith, should pass over an incoherence like this, without animadverting on its improbability, cannot be a matter of surprise. We must be more embarrassed, how to account for the silence which has been observed concerning it by commentators and critics by profession. Scaliger, as far as I recollect, is the only writer who has signalised this monstrous mistatement.

But Herodotus has not been treated by the moderns with quite so much courtesy, with regard to his chronological statements. Were his account, indeed, to be authenticated, we should be forced to reckon 23 instead of 33 years for each generation; and in allowing that the Heraclidæ reigned during 505 years, and from father to son in 22 generations, we should differ from the calculation established

by experience in no less than 221 in the course of 505 years.

Professor Schweighaeuser, however, appears to be quite satisfied with the statement as it stands. In his notes to Herodotus he thus objects to a new reading proposed by M. Larcher: *Loco duarum et vigintî generationum quæ libri omnes præferunt, præter jus et fas, quum nulla satis idonea corrigendi causa subesset, circumspectior alioqui Larcherus non nisi quindecim posuit, &c.* I agree with the learned professor that Larcher had no right to alter the number. I can consent to follow neither the Abbé Sevin, who would mend the text in his way, and who would read 405, for 505, years; nor M. Larcher, who would mend the text in his way, and who would read 15, for 22, generations. If a modern critic be thus at liberty to change the numbers mentioned in the text of a Greek or Roman writer, he may make what he pleases of ancient chronology. He, who adopts either of the alterations which I have just indicated, adopts the conjecture of M. Sevin, or the conjecture of M. Larcher, and no longer trusts to the words of Herodotus.

But while I argue that the text must be left as it is, I am by no means so perfectly satisfied as M. Schweighaeuser seems to be with the statement which it contains. The professor reproves Larcher, for proposing a change when there could be no fit or reasonable cause for an alteration. He thinks that to propose a correction, when all the copies give the received reading, is *præter jus et fas*. Thus this worthy verbalist sits down quite contented with what he reads. The Greek is good, and the words are the same in all the manuscripts. It signifies nothing that the historian has here made a statement, which positively contradicts a chronological canon, confirmed by the authority of the ablest calculators, and founded on the experience of mankind during the lapse of a long succession of ages. The verbal critic sees no error. The grammar is correct. The orthography is admitted. M. Schweighaeuser will perhaps be surprised to hear that there are some readers, of whom I am one, who regret that where the sense is so objectionable, the text should be so accurate, as to preclude alteration.

The early history of Lydia is replete with

fables. The first king was Manes, or Meon, who appears to have reigned over both Lydia and Phrygia; for the Phrygian king called Meon by Diodorus Siculus (L. 3.) must have been the same as Manes, who, according to Herodotus (L. 1.), as well as to Xanthus (Dionysius Halicarn. L. 1.), was the first king of Lydia. This Manes, says the Lydian historian, was the son of Jupiter. His successors on the throne were, Cotys, Atys, and Lydus. After these appear to have come, Akiamos, Hermon, Alcimus, Camblitas, Tmolus, and the celebrated queen, Omphale.

Thus the stream of history seems to flow easily on; and modern compilers find no difficulty in furnishing their credulous readers with a list of the princes who ruled over Lydia. But if we examine the evidence of ancient authors, our aptitude to believe must be strong indeed, if we continue to give credit to the early history of the Lydian monarchy. I shall proceed to show that upon this subject the Greek writers are all at variance with each other.

It is surely not a little extraordinary, that the names of the first king of Egypt, and of the first king of Lydia, should so exactly resemble each other. The Greeks call the former Men, Menes, and Manes; and the latter they denominate Manes and Meon. Both these princes were said to be sons of Jupiter. If we believe Herodotus (L. 1.), Atys was the son and successor of Manes, who reigned at an epoch long previous to the time of Hercules. If we believe Strabo (L. 5.), Atys was descended from Hercules. According to Xanthus (Dionys. Halicarn. L. 1.), Atys was the son of Cotys, and the grandson of Manes. But Alexander Polyhistor, cited by Stephanus Byzantinus, says that the son of Manes was Akmon. Diodorus Siculus (L. 3.) does not allow that Manes (or Meon, as he writes the name,) had any son. His only child was the daughter, who was born to him by Dyndyma, and who was no other than Cybele, otherwise called Rhea, the mother of the Gods. Xanthus says nothing of Dyndyma. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (L. 1.), the consort of Manes

was Callirhoë, the daughter of the Ocean. If we adopt the opinion of Diodorus Siculus (L. 3.), we must consider Atys, not as the descendant of Manes, nor as a Lydian king, but as a Phrygian shepherd, of whom Cybele became enamoured, and who was put to death by her father. It is said by Dorotheus, the Corinthian, that Cybele, having become jealous of Atys, who was her priest as well as her lover, deprived him of his manhood. Ovid, making a fable of the whole story, says, that the goddess repented of her cruelty towards the youth, and changed him into a pine-tree. We are told by other writers, that Atys was slain by a wild boar, sent by Jupiter into Lydia, in order to destroy the presumptuous youth, who enjoyed the favours of the venerable Rhea. Perhaps this fable suggested to Herodotus the interesting romance, which he relates of the son of Crœsus. We may dispense with the story told by Pausanias (in Achaic.) of the son of the daughter of the Sangar, and of the jealous dæmon Agdistis.

The history of Lydus appears to be nearly

as uncertain as that of Atys. According to Herodotus (L. 1. c. 94.), Atys had two sons, Lydus and Tyrrhenus. The former reigned over Lydia; and the historian relates, that during a famine, which lasted twenty-two years,[1] the Lydians fasted every other day, and amused themselves with playing at various games during these intervals; but at length King Atys divided his subjects into two classes; and one of these, headed by Tyrrhenus (or Tyrsenus[2]), quitted Asia, and settled in Umbria. Other writers pretend that Lydus and Tyrrhenus were the sons of Hercules. Dionysius of Halicarnassus dissents from the statement of Herodotus.

[1] In my copy of Herodotus the following are the words of the text—*τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι.* I mention this merely because the number of years is differently stated by some modern writers, in whose copies the text of the original may have disagreed with mine. Thus Larcher writes 18 years, and reprehends Voltaire for having added ten to that number.

[2] The name is written *Τυρσηνὸς* in the edition of Schweighaeuser. I have no other edition at present with which I can compare this; but as the usual orthography of the name is *Τυῤῥηνὸς*, I shall abide by it.

According to Xanthus, the brother of Lydus was named Torybus; and this prince never quitted the shores of Asia. (See note No. 2.)

This sketch of the history of the dynasty of the Atyadæ suffices to show, that its texture is entirely mythological. It is remarkable, however, that the Lydians seem to have admitted the establishment of their monarchy to have happened at a date so recent, when compared with the pretended origin of most of the Asiatic governments. M. Freret supposes the commencement of royalty among the Lydians to have taken place about 300 years before the fall of Troy, and at an epoch posterior to the time of Sesostris. For my own part, I am disposed to assign to it even a more recent date. If the Lydians were governed by any princes of their own, before the fall of the Assyrian empire, those princes probably continued to act as satraps of the Great King, by whose authority they might have been at any time dispossessed of their dominions; nor, with the exception of some parts of the coast occupied by Greek colonists, was any province or district of Asia

Minor independent of the Assyrians previous to the æra of the liberation of the Medes by Arbaces.

The inscription found at Anchiale proves Cilicia to have been under the sway of Sardanapalus; and I shall have to show in a succeeding chapter, that some ages before the time of Sardanapalus, the Phrygian kings were only vassals of the Assyrian monarchs. It is possible, that the Greeks, calling themselves Heraclidæ, might have reigned over the province of Lydia, without paying tribute to the sovereign of Nineveh. I have already admitted that the Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians, who occupied parts of the coast, might have held themselves to be the independent masters of their narrow territories.

M. Freret, after having stated that the Lydian monarchy was founded at an epoch posterior to the conquests of Sesostris, proceeds to make some remarks, which merit attention. *Ce prince (Sesostris) soumit l'Asie Mineure, et porta même ses armes dans la Thrace. L'empire des Egyptiens sur ce pays n'eut pas une fort grande*

durée. Il servit cependant à tirer les peuples de la barbarie dans laquelle ils vivoient. Les Egyptiens, en établissant chez eux leur domination, leur enseignèrent une partie des dogmes de leur religion. Les mystères de Cybele, de Bacchus, et de Cérès n'étoient autre chose que des copies des fêtes d'Isis et d'Osiris défigurées par les Grecs, qui dans la suite rapportèrent à leur anciennes divinités les événemens qui y avoient donné lieu.

These remarks, which are apparently well-founded, may help us to understand the allegorical history of the Meonian dynasty. The Egyptians introduced into the provinces of Phrygia and Lydia the worship of their principal deity, one of whose titles was *On;* or, preceded by the nominal sign, *Mon*, or *Meon*. This name appears to have been variously sounded, *An*, *En*, *On*, *Man*, *Men*, *Mon*. The Greeks pronounced the same name *Men*, *Manes*, *Menes*, *Meon*. The Hebrews wrote it without the nominal sign, *Aon*, or *On;* and in the Coptic version of the Pentateuch the last name is preserved. *Manes*, *Menes*, *Meen*, says Mr. Bryant, *was one of the most ancient titles of the*

Egyptian god Osiris. The reader may also consult my second volume, in which I have fully proved that Manes was a solar title.

The Lydians adopted the name of Manes, or Meon, as that of their first sovereign, and thus followed the example of the Egyptians, who had introduced the rites of Osiris into Asia Minor, where, however, it may be presumed, the worship of the Sun had been already established. In honour of the god, the *Ludim*, as they were called by the Hebrews, took the name of Meonians.

The story told of the Phrygian shepherd Atys is founded on the fables related of the Egyptian Osiris, and of the Phœnician Adonis. The name of Atys is a corruption for the word *at*, or *ath*, which in Syriac and Chaldaic signified *fire*. *At* was one of the many names under which the Sun was adored in the East.

The mythological history of Cybele shows this goddess to have been the same with Isis, Rhea, Amma, Ceres, Terra. The Greeks gave to her the name of Cybele, without knowing the meaning of the word. The daughter of

Meon, or Manes, was fabled to have been exposed, when an infant, on a mountain. After her apotheosis, (if she really ever existed in a human form,) the princess, become a goddess, was considered as the same with the deity variously called *Baala, Bela, Beli, Belti,* by the Chaldeans, Syrians, and Arabians. Among the dialects spoken in Asia Minor, the Pehlvi, or ancient Persian, predominated. The mountain, on which the daughter of Meon was feigned to have been exposed, was called كوه بلي, *Koh,* or *Kuh, Beli, Mons Belæ;* and the Greeks, without enquiring what might be its sense, transferred the appellation from the mountain to the goddess. Strabo, however, (L. 10.) confesses, that this deity received her various denominations, and among the rest that of *Kubele,* from the names of the places where she was worshipped.

It is in vain that some writers, determined to find facts in the midst of fictions, would endeavour to make a distinction between Cybele the daughter of Meon, and Cybele the mother of the Gods; and again, between Atys the

Lydian king, and Atys the Phrygian shepherd. Herodotus, indeed, has well omitted all mention of the passiön of Cybele, and of the misfortune of Atys. He has also taken care not to name the mother of Lydus and Tyrrhenus. Dorotheus, in stating her to have been the daughter of the river Sangar, connects indissolubly the fabulous narrative with that which is called the historical. Diodorus Siculus clearly gave no credit to the existence of King Atys. Later writers, who bestowed much labour on the subject, and who had access to information which we no longer possess, are silent with respect to this Lydian monarch. Thus Arnobius (L. 5.), who has related at great length the story of Cybele and Atys, gives no hint of there having been at the same æra a king of Lydia, who bore the same name with the shepherd.

I am aware that I shall be told of the high authority of Herodotus. It is however needless to deny that the father of history was often too credulous, and that he occasionally introduced stories into his writings, which he probably

knew to be ill authenticated, but which he thought would amuse his readers. More attentive to the graces of style, than can be easily guessed from any translation, he seems to have been seldom unwilling to admit embellishments of another kind, which might add novelty, interest, or importance, to his narrative. The word ἱστορία, *history*, bore a very different sense in Greek from that which it bears in English. The Greeks understood by it *enquiry, research;* finally, *a statement of what had become known by means of research.* Thus the Greek historian, without any violation of good faith, might relate many things which had been reported to him as truths, but which he neither did, nor could, consider to be such. In the account, which Herodotus gives of the three dynasties which reigned over Lydia before the time of Cyrus, there is much that is fabulous. I do not speak of the tales told of Arion, and of the two sons of Crœsus, which were probably introduced into the narrative for no other purpose than to satisfy that passion for the marvellous, in which the Greeks loved so much to indulge. My

objections are not made only to those fabulous accounts, which the author himself, it is most likely, neither believed, nor expected his readers to believe. There are some of his historical statements, which he makes, as he tells us, on the authority of the Lydians, and to which I am disposed to attribute little credit. Thus the history of the emigration of the colony under Tyrrhenus seems to me extremely suspicious. It is difficult to believe that the dynasty of the Heraclidæ obtained possession of the kingdom, if they were not the descendants of Hercules by Omphale, but by the daughter of Jardanus, one of the slaves of that princess. The visit of Solon to Crœsus, if it can be reconciled to chronology, is certainly not rendered more probable by the account of the conversation, no doubt both instructive and amusing, which is said to have taken place between them. The story of Candaules and Gyges seems not to have staggered the credulity of the Greeks, since Plato has not disdained to repeat the mendacious romance, and has even added that Gyges possessed a ring which rendered him

invisible. I prefer this edition of the story to that which we find in Herodotus; because it resembles still more exactly one of the Arabian tales. We have no right to quarrel with fiction, when it shows itself undisguised; or to condemn a fable which clearly announces itself to be one. It is only when lies put on the garb of truths that they merit our censure. But the early historians of Greece thought themselves at liberty to repeat what had been reported to them. They laid the result of their researches before the public, and left the public to determine what might, or what might not, be probable in the recital. Thucydides, indeed, may be considered as having formed a different notion of the duties of an historian; but the speeches, which that grave and great writer assigned to persons who never uttered them, plainly prove that even he did not think it necessary to adhere literally to the truth in his historical compositions.

The Lydians appear to have been a refined, but at the same time a very corrupt and luxurious people. Justin (L. 1.) speaks of their

excellent moral qualities in ancient times, and attributes their dissolute character at a later period to the Persians, who sought by their institutions to render them dissipated and effeminate, in order to govern them with more facility. If we believe Herodotus (L. 1.), all the young women prostituted themselves for money, and pursued this traffic until they had acquired a sum sufficient for the marriage portion. The story is very improbable. Had the historian spoken of such a custom as partially prevailing, credit might have been given to his statement.

The same writer informs us that the Lydians pretended to have been the first people who coined money. This pretension I consider as very ill founded. I have had occasion to show elsewhere, that coined money already existed in the days of Abraham.

Upon the whole, then, I feel myself compelled to acknowledge my scepticism with regard to the history of the Lydian monarchy before the time of Crœsus. The different statements of the Greeks relative to Meon, or Manes, to Atys,

to Lydus, to Tyrrhenus, seem to me to be irreconcilable. If the Lydians had taken this name before the Trojan war, why does Homer call them Meones? The chronology, as recorded by Herodotus, is generally confessed to be inadmissible; and it must be difficult, if it be not impossible, to understand what this historian could mean, by placing the ancient Assyrian monarchs, Belus and Ninus, among the descendants of Hercules. The account given of the manner in which the sceptre was transferred from the dynasty of the Heraclidæ to that of the Mermnadæ is so evidently fabulous, that I cannot suppose the writer himself to have given the slightest credit to it.

It is painful to have doubts, where others believe. But though I envy the man who can always think with the multitude, I cannot copy the example of those, who can always speak, whether they think or not, in compliance with the opinion of the majority. Many of the statements of Herodotus, which are credited by the greater number of readers, appear to me to be mere fictions. The history of the con-

versation between Crœsus and Solon is generally received as authentic; and it will perhaps be considered as a proof of unnecessary and ill-directed scepticism, when I confess my total disbelief of its being founded in fact. The tale is finely told; and pleased Plutarch so much, as to induce him to forget his usual hostility against Herodotus. He even quarrels with the chronologers on this account. They would neither make Crœsus reign soon enough, nor Solon live long enough, in order to render the conversation between the Athenian sage and the Lydian monarch easily credible. I know not, however, whether I should have had the courage to avow my incredulity on this point, if M. Freret had not set me the example. This learned and acute critic, in his controversy with Newton, has taken occasion to show the utter improbability of the whole narrative of the conversation in question as recorded by the father of history.

I am happy, however, to have it in my power to give faith to one fact, which is mentioned by Herodotus, and which, I suspect, is very much

doubted, not indeed by the common herd of thoughtless readers, but by some men of science. I allude to the eclipse said by the historian to have taken place when the Medes and Lydians were engaged in battle, and which was predicted by Thales. If I have any quarrel here with Herodotus, it is for indicating that the astronomer of Miletus foretold the event with less precision than in my opinion he might have done, and than I think, from the testimony of Eudemus, he really did.

It is not a little singular, that the truth of the eclipse having happened, as related by the Greek historian, should be in a great degree confirmed by a story told in the Shah-nameh of Pherdosi. There are certainly some points of coincidence between the Greek account of the history of the Medes, and the Persian account of the history of the Iranians. The Kai Kous of Pherdosi seems to be the same with the Cyaxares of Herodotus; and the king of Mazenderan, spoken of by the poet, was probably the king of Lydia, Alyattes, whom the Persians erroneously believed to have reigned over the

region called Hyrcania by the Greeks. The Persians, utterly ignorant of geography, might have easily made this mistake. But it is curious to find that the account of the eclipse, so differently given by Herodotus and Pherdôsi, should form one of the principal links, which connect the ancient Greek with the modern Persian annals of the Iranian empire. (See note No. 3.) The father of Greek history mentions the eclipse, and the prediction of it, as marvellous circumstances; and the father of Persian history (for so Pherdosi, though a poet, may be called) has enveloped it in all the mystery of magic, and has represented it with all the exaggerations of fable. For the critic there is quite marvel enough, in finding the truth of an event related by a Greek historian confirmed by a Persian poet.

Note No. 1.—The Persians sometimes put the liquid *l* for the liquid *r*; and write and pronounce ایلان *Ilan*, for ایران *Iran*. The Hebrews appear to have corrupted, at a very early period, *Ilan* into *Ilam*, or *Eilam*; and the name is thus written עילם, in the 10th chapter of the book

of Genesis. The Masorites, if I recollect rightly, have pointed the initial *ain* with a *sheva*. But the Masoretic punctuation, which is of little value in any case, is of none whatever when we speak of names not of Hebrew origin.

There is a note in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia concerning the name of Arphaxad, on which I think it necessary to make a few observations. I must, however, transcribe it from the French translation, as I have not been able to procure a copy of the original work at Naples, where the dearth of English books is excessive.

Il a été soutenu que l'Arphaxad, dont il est fait mention dans le livre de Judith, étoit le Dejocès des Grecs, parcequ'il est dit de lui qu'il avoit construit Ecbatane; et si nous devions nous guider par l'étymologie, nous devrions conclure que ce prince étoit Dejocès. Arpha, ou Arphra, est le même nom que Phraortes; et Xud, ou Sad, dans l'ancien comme dans le nouveau Persan, veut dire fils: on pourroit donc regarder Arphaxad comme fils de Phraortes. Ferdosi dit que Kai Kobad étoit considéré comme un descendant de Féridoon, ou, comme on écrivoit en Pehlivi, Phreedoon, ou en Déri, Aphreedoon, nom qui ne diffère pas de Aphra.[1] *Sous ce point de vue donc aussi l'Arphaxad du livre de Judith paroîtroit être le Kai Kobad des Persans. Mais rien au monde n'est plus incertain que des conclusions déduites de l'étymologie.*

[1] *Phra* (or *Aphra* in Deri) signifies glorious, splendid.

Sir John Malcolm is a highly respectable writer, and I cannot help expressing my surprise at his joining the vulgar cry against etymologies, and the conclusions to be drawn from them. Errors have no doubt been often made by etymologists; but it is not the less true that these same etymologists have often thrown light on the history of languages, and in doing so, have thrown light on the history of nations. Had Sir John entertained a more favourable opinion of the conclusions that may be drawn from etymologies, he would probably have paused before he produced that which I have cited from him. Phraortes, it is obvious, is a Greek corruption for a Persian name. Sir John asserts that it is the same name as *Arphra*, or *Arpha*. Where are the proofs of the truth of this assertion? The reader, who is unacquainted with the Persian language, will probably learn with surprise, that in that language there is no such word as either *arphra*, or *arpha*.

Sir John Malcolm proceeds to tell us, that *xad*, or *sad*, in modern as well as in ancient Persian, signifies a son. He ought to have recollected, that *xad* could not possibly have existed in the name as written by the Hebrews, since the letter *x* does not belong to their alphabet. Had he examined the original text, in the 10th chapter of the book of Genesis, he would have found the orthography to be ארפכשד—*Arphakshad*, or *Arphaksad*. Thus some negligence has been here betrayed by the historian of Iran.

To a yet greater degree of negligence I must attribute his

assertion, when he affirms that *xad*, or *sad*, in Persian signifies *a son*. There is—there can be—no such word as *xad* in that language, because the letter *x* no more exists in the Persian than in the Hebrew alphabet. The word صد, *sad*, does not signify *a son*, but the number *a hundred*. If Sir John had taken the trouble to reflect for a moment, he would have recollected that the word for *a son* in Persian is زاد, *zad*.

I would now ask, whether a writer, who shows himself to be so very careless in proposing an etymology, is quite authorised to denounce all conclusions drawn from etymologies as utterly uncertain?

The Hebrews, like every other people, corrupted and altered foreign names, both in writing and in pronouncing them. The name which they pronounced *Arphaksad*, may have been called *Aphrazad* by the Medes; and this name, or rather this title, which might have been adopted by different princes, would have signified *son of glory*. I should think that the Greeks, when they wrote *Phraortes*, corrupted a name, which might have been *Aphra-ard*, or *Phra-ard*, in the original Persian, and which would have signified *glorious hero*. (See what I have said of the word *-ard*, or *art*, in my first volume. Ἀρταῖοι οἱ ἥρωες παρὰ Πέρσαις. Hesych.) I am far from considering the etymology which I have just proposed as certain; but I would not therefore say that nothing in the world is so uncertain as conclusions drawn from etymologies.

Sir John Malcolm no doubt will have the majority in his

favour. Verbal criticism and etymological researches are little liked by the illiterate; and even to many learned men they are not agreeable. It seems, however, difficult to deny, that etymology, when skilfully employed, is an instrument of great power in developing the history of languages, and even in bringing to light the early history of nations. Bochart, for example, though his statements be occasionally erroneous, has often proved, by the help of etymology alone, (what might seem otherwise doubtful,) the certainty of some of the colonial establishments of the Phœnicians. He, who would make himself master of the Latin language, will probably not despise the etymological labours of Vossius. The knowledge of the English language was much more promoted by Horne Tooke than by Doctor Johnson, for this simple reason, that the former was an able etymologist, and that the latter (who was a man of powerful intellect and of great natural sagacity, but who has been ridiculously overrated as a man of learning) was unequal to the task of making etymological researches in the languages from which the English has been principally derived. I must at the same time confess that no small portion of abuse has been introduced into this department of literature. The Abbé de la Pluche, the Abbé Bannier, and some other Abbés, brought etymology into total discredit in France; and in that country, (certainly second to none in every branch of learning,) the prejudice against it is now carried to extravagance. The French, who for the last century

have cultivated the exact sciences with the greatest success, have become too much disposed to extend the severe spirit of geometry to the domains of criticism, and to place under its influence the reasoning, not only of the philosopher, but of the antiquary and of the philologist. The same aversion from etymological enquiries exists, though not to so great a degree, in Italy, where Mazzochi, a profound Hebraist, as well as one of the most learned Hellenists of the last century, laboured to derive the Latin from the Hebrew. In England the etymological researches of Mr. Bryant have been well received by many; but for my own part I must avow that I can very rarely agree with that ingenious writer, who, though an excellent classical scholar, appears to me to have been no proficient in the Oriental languages. The same thing may be said of Mr. Faber, a person of great erudition; but, in my opinion, by no means felicitous in his etymologies.

Before I conclude this note, I must object to the practice of altering the orthography of the Orientalists where there is no necessity for doing so. Why should we put double for single vowels? Sir John Malcolm writes *Phreedoon*, for *Phridun*; for the purpose, I suppose, of forcing the cockneys and the country gentlemen to pronounce the name as they ought to do. The French pervert the Persian orthography in a yet more extraordinary manner. In order no doubt that the *badauds* of Paris may pronounce Persian words correctly, the *literati* represent the letter ج by *dj*, and the letter ش

by *ch*. This mode of writing makes it difficult to trace the affinity of words to each other in different languages. The soft *g* of the Arabians frequently answers to the hard *g* of the Hebrews. But if, for example, I wished to show that the Hebrew word for *a boundary* was originally the same as that which in Arabic signifies *a mountain*, my argument would not be strengthened by writing the first *ghebul*, and the second *djebel*, or *djibel*. The connexion becomes obvious, when I write גבל, *gebul*, or *gabul*, and جبل, *gebel*, or even *jabel*. In like manner, if I said that the word signifying *a camel* was in reality the same in both languages, I should not confirm my assertion by writing *ghamel* for גמל, and *djamel* for جمل. The substitution of *ch* for *sh* is still more objectionable. No orientalist can doubt that שמש, *shemesh*, which signifies the sun in Hebrew, is the same word as شمس, *shems*, which bears the same meaning in Arabic. But if a person unacquainted with those languages were told this, he would scarcely be persuaded of the fact, if he found the words written *shemesh* and *chems* in Roman letters.

The English pronounce the vowels like no other people. As, however, this is known to all well educated persons, I think we might retain the proper orthography, and leave cockneys and country gentlemen to articulate Persian and Arabic names as best they can.

The author of the History of Persia can have no right to be offended at the remarks which I have made in this note.

His observation no doubt is general; but in asserting that there is nothing in the world so uncertain as conclusions drawn from etymologies, he has condemned by anticipation no small portion of my labours in the Origines. I think myself at liberty to refute his assertion; and I have shown, that an author, who has himself proposed an etymology with so much negligence as he has done, can scarcely be considered as a competent judge in deciding on the value of proofs derived from etymological researches.

I should be very sorry, however, if the charge of negligence, which I have adduced in this instance against Sir John Malcolm, should be in any manner supposed to extend to the rest of his valuable work. It is only malignity, or stupidity, that would condemn a whole book from a few casual mistakes. Last of all writers ought I to run the risk of censuring such mistakes, since I have not the advantage, possessed by most authors, of correcting the press. There are few persons, I believe, who receive their proof-sheets from the printer, and who send them back without having had some error of the press to alter, or some slip of the pen to rectify. When I send my manuscripts to London, there is an end of emendation; and I may compare myself to the limner who paints in *fresco*, and who, when he draws a line, or lays on a colour, knows that neither the one nor the other can ever be changed or obliterated.

Note No. 2.—I propose in this note to examine the

different opinions of the two historians of Halicarnassus concerning the origin of the Tyrrheni. This task I shall endeavour to execute with as much brevity as can be consistent with a clear elucidation of the subject.

From the statement which I have made above, I am already prepared to hear myself accused of having shown too little respect for the authority of Herodotus. It will be observed, that as that historian only reported what he had heard, he cannot be considered as responsible for the mistakes and the mistatements of others. Anticipating these objections, I shall not fail to endeavour to obviate them; but feeling also that I cannot admit the probability or even the possibility of some of the asseverations made by the father of history, I shall not hesitate to indicate my dissent from them; leaving it, however, to the reader to judge for himself of the justness of the reasons which I have assigned for that dissent. Neither shall I be inattentive to the argument of those who defend the historian for having related incredible figments on the ground of his merely repeating what he had heard from others. This argument, however, I confess I consider as of little weight. Every historian repeats what he has heard, or seen, or read; but he shows his judgment when he excludes from his narrative whatever is evidently false, absurd, or even very improbable. Thucydides may have heard as many lies as Ctesias; but his good sense prevented him from giving them a place in his history.

I have stated above the substance of the account con-

tained in the Clio of Herodotus concerning the origin of the Tyrrheni. Who is there, I would ask, even in the common tribe of careless readers, so easy of belief, as to credit the story of the Lydians fasting every other day during a period of twenty-two years? Who can believe that, while their fasts lasted, they played at various games, in order to kill the time?

That Herodotus had no intention to deceive his readers, I am perfectly ready to admit. He repeated what the Lydians themselves had told him. Still I think he might have expressed his doubts, if not his disbelief, of circumstances so extraordinary and so improbable. It is certainly singular that, in speaking of the alternate fasting and feeding of these Lydians—of their method, unheard of before or since, of amusing hunger and thirst, two feelings not to be easily dallied with,—he should have shown no appearance of surprise—no symptom of startled credulity.

Let us, however, proceed to consider, whether or not he ought to be believed, when he tells us that Tyrrhenus conducted into Italy a horde of Lydian colonists, who were called Tyrrheni after their leader. This question is not to be confounded with that more general question, which relates to the establishment of a Lydian colony in Etruria. We may believe that Lydian emigrants settled in that country, without adopting the account which is given by the Halicarnassian historian of the departure of Tyrrhenus from Asia, and of his arrival in Umbria, when he was followed by half

the starving population of his father's kingdom. There are many difficulties to be encountered, if we admit as true the story told of the son of Atys; while an immense mass of evidence may be collected to prove that Lydian colonists must at an early period have fixed their residence in Italy. But this is not the subject which I propose for examination. My object is to ascertain, as far as I am able, the truth of the story related by Herodotus, concerning the emigration of the Lydians under Tyrrhenus. I shall therefore place before my readers the testimonies of ancient authors both for and against the account given by that historian; beginning with those who, with more or less exactness, have adopted his statement.

Velleius Paterculus (L. 1.) refers the emigration of the Lydian colony to the time of Orestes. *Per hæc tempora*, says he, *Lydus et Tyrrhenus fratres, cum regnarent in Lydia, sterilitate frugum compulsi, sortiti sunt, uter cum parte multitudinis patria decederet. Sors Tyrrhenum contigit. Pervectus in Italiam, et loco, et incolis, et mari, nobile ac perpetuum a se nomen dedit.*

Now it is to be observed, that if Tyrrhenus quitted Lydia in the time of Orestes, he could not have been the son of Atys, and the grandson of Manes, as is asserted by Herodotus. According to the chronology established on the authority of that historian, Atys began to reign 1368 years before the Christian æra; and the emigration of the Lydian colony under the conduct of Tyrrhenus took place 24 years after-

wards. But in taking Velleius himself for our guide, Orestes was born in the year 1283 before Christ, and 61 years after Tyrrhenus had quitted Asia. Thus it is impossible to reconcile the chronology of the Roman to that of the Greek historian. Should we, however, follow other writers, and suppose five princes to have reigned over Lydia, between Atys and Queen Omphale, we must also suppose a much longer interval between the times of Tyrrhenus and of Orestes. At all events it is clear that this part of the evidence of Velleius Paterculus cannot be reconciled to the statement of Herodotus. According to the latter, the son of Atys must have quitted Lydia about the year 1344 before our æra; and according to the former, the son of Agamemnon must have been born about 61 years afterwards. It is therefore in positive contradiction to the authority of Herodotus that Velleius has represented Orestes as contemporary with Lydus and Tyrrhenus at the epoch of the Lydian emigration.

The evidence of Pliny (L. 3.) is clear, as far as it goes, in favour of the account given by the Halicarnassian historian—*Umbros inde exegere antiquitus Pelasgi, hos Lydi, a quorum rege Tyrrheni, mox sacrifico ritu lingua Græcorum Tusci sunt cognominati.* How far Pliny may have trusted to the authority of Herodotus, and how far his own authority is decisive, are questions for the reader to consider.

Solinus asks, *Quis ignorat, Tyrrhenos a Tyrrheno Lydiæ rege dictos?* I ask, who is ignorant that this prince never

was king of Lydia? The testimony of so inaccurate a writer as Solinus can be of no avail to the father of history.

The account which we find in Strabo (L. 5.) of the emigration of the Lydian colony under Tyrrhenus, so nearly resembles that which is given by Herodotus, as to render it extremely probable that the geographer copied it from the narrative of the historian. There is, however, one assertion which has been made by Strabo, which was certainly not copied from Herodotus, and which, if it be accurate, overthrows the whole chronology established by that ancient author, and indeed his whole history of the dynasties of the Atyadæ and of the Heraclidæ. Strabo distinctly says, that Atys was one of the descendants of Hercules and Omphale —ὁ Ἄτυς εἷς τῶν ἀπογόνων Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ὀμφάλης. Now if this assertion be accurate, we must consider as fabulous all that Herodotus has told us of the early history of the Lydian monarchs; and how shall we trust to the account of the emigration of Tyrrhenus as given by Strabo himself, who, if he did not borrow his information from Herodotus, repeats the same story of the son of Atys, as that which is related by the Halicarnassian historian? The great geographer adopts the tradition, with all its circumstances, concerning the departure of the Lydian colony from Asia, and its settlement in Italy. But tradition had likewise placed Atys among the descendants of Manes, and not of Hercules, as appears from the testimony of Xanthus as well as of Herodotus. How happens it then that Strabo gives credit to that

part of the tradition which Herodotus adopts, but which Xanthus controverts; while he makes a statement in contradiction to that part of the tradition which both historians agree in admitting? In asserting that Atys was descended from Hercules, Strabo, it is evident, must have trusted to some other account than that given by the two ancient authors whom I have just mentioned; but in doing so he discredited the whole statement made by Herodotus, and invalidated the portion of it which he admitted, as well as the portion of it which he rejected.

I quote the following words from Festus Pompeius (L. 18.): *Turrhænos Etruscos appellari solitos, ait Verrius, a Turrheno duce Lydorum.* Verrius, like Festus himself, was a grammarian. His opinion on the subject in question was probably decided by that of Herodotus, and serves only to prove that Verrius believed in the account given by that historian.

Servius (ad Æneid. L. 1. v. 71.) writes as follows: *Forte autem recessit Tyrrhenus a fratre suo Lydo: quærens aliam terram, dimisit suam, regnumque fratri, sed prævenit submersio illius; evasit vero filius ejus, et habitavit in Tuscia.* He seems afterwards to have adopted the common opinion; for he says (ad Æneid. L. 2. v. 781.)—*Lydius Tibris, sic dictus a fratre Tyrrheni. Tusci enim a Lydis originem ducunt; nam Lydus et Tyrrhenus, duo fratres, cum eos provincia una non ferret, in sortem miserunt, ut divisis copiis proficisceretur unus ad novas sedes quærendas. Pro-*

fectus Tyrrhenus est, qui ex suo nomine Tuscos Tyrrhenos vocavit. Thus, according to the first of these accounts, Tyrrhenus was drowned, and never reached the shores of Italy. According to the second, he must have arrived in that country, since he called the Tusci Tyrrheni after his own name. These two contradictory statements invalidate each other, and prove the mutual infirmity of both.

Tertullian (de Spectac. L. 2.) gives another edition of the story—*Lydos ex Asia transvenas in Etruria consedisse, ut Timæus refert, duce Tyrrheno, qui fratri suo cesserat regni contentione.* This Timæus was probably a Sicilian writer of that name, who flourished about two centuries after the Halicarnassian historian. A quarrel with his brother Lydus might have induced Tyrrhenus to quit his native country; but then, if we believe Timæus, we must disbelieve Herodotus.

We are told by Plutarch (in Vita Romuli) that it was a custom among the ancient Romans, when they had gained a victory, and after the sacrifices had been offered up, to conduct an old man, dressed like a boy, with the *prætexta* and the *bulla*, through the forum to the capitol, preceded at the same time by a herald, who vociferated *Sardians to sell.* The author then adds—Τυῤῥηνοὶ γὰρ ἄποικοι τῶν Σαρδιανῶν λέγονται—*for the Tyrrheni are said to be colonists of the Sardians.* Plutarch speaks to the same purpose in his Roman Questions. I think it unnecessary to quote the passage, because, though some writers think differently, I cannot consider this evidence as directly corroborative of

the statement of Herodotus, and it is only such evidence that I have proposed to place before the reader. The custom, of which Plutarch speaks, was introduced into Rome after the capture of Veii, in order to turn the Etruscans into ridicule, who claimed descent from the Lydians. Its existence, however, only proves the Lydian origin, which tradition ascribed to the Etruscans; but in no way confirms the particular account of that origin, as it is given by the Halicarnassian historian. I am indeed aware that Festus Pompeius (L. 17.), who has mentioned the prevalence of the custom, nearly in the same manner as Plutarch has done, adds to his statement the following words: *quia Etrusca gens orta est Sardibus ex Lydia; Tyrrhenus enim inde profectus cum magna manu eorum, occupavit eam partem Italiæ, quæ nunc vocatur Etruria.* But we have already seen the reference which Festus makes to Verrius, upon whose opinion, with regard to this subject, he seems to have founded his own.

In the Annals of Tacitus (L. 4.) there is a passage which is thought by some writers to be conclusive in favour of Herodotus. Tacitus, it is true, has not mentioned the name of the father of history; but he confirms, it is said, beyond a doubt, that writer's account of the Lydian emigration under Tyrrhenus.

Eleven cities of Asia Minor contended for the honour, or the disgrace, of building a temple, which was to be dedicated to Tiberius and to the Roman senate. Sardis, the

capital of Lydia, was one of these eleven cities; and the plea of its inhabitants is thus mentioned by the Roman annalist: *Sardiani decretum Etruriæ recitavere, ut consanguinei: nam Tyrrhenum Lydumque, Atye rege genitos, ob multitudinem divisisse gentem: Lydum patriis in terris resedisse; Tyrrheno datum, novas ut conderet sedes: et ducum e nominibus indita vocabula, illis per Asiam, his in Italia: auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam, missis in Græciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen.*

Those authors, who have cited this passage as conclusive in confirmation of the statement made by Herodotus, have confounded two parts of it, which ought to be kept altogether distinct from each other. Tacitus, as I understand him, meant to state that the Sardians had cited, to Tiberius and to the senate of Rome, a decree of the Etruscans, in which the people of Etruria were spoken of as being of Lydian origin, and from which the Sardians were desirous to infer their consanguinity with their Roman masters. It is surely not thence to be argued, that all that follows in the passage of Tacitus existed in the decree of the Etruscans. We cannot suppose the Etruscan government to have declared by a statute that Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, and the brother of Lydus, had settled in Etruria. If the fact were generally credited, there could have been no use in publishing a decree to enforce the belief of it:—if it were not generally believed, no law would have rendered it more credible; nor is it possible to guess for what purpose such a law should have

been enacted. The Lydian origin of the Etruscans could only have been mentioned incidentally in a legislative act. All the latter part of the passage expresses the sentiments of the writer relative to the origin of the Etruscans. We may therefore consider the Roman annalist as having given his decided testimony in favour of the statement made by Herodotus; and the defenders of that historian have all the advantage of the testimony of Tacitus; but they cannot cite the Etruscan decree as proving more than the general fact of the Lydians having sent a colony to Italy, which settled in Etruria. If the authors, to whom I allude, had considered the sentence with more attention, they would have been convinced that the expressions employed in it could not have existed in the decree, without supposing the Etruscan legislators to have gone strangely out of their way, and without likewise supposing the Sardians to have exposed themselves to the charge of manifest contradiction. The Etruscans, in framing a law, were little likely to promulgate their notions concerning the Lydian origin of Pelops. We are told that Lydus and Tyrrhenus divided the people *ob multitudinem*. This clearly means, that the people were divided into two classes, one of which was to remain in Lydia, and the other was to emigrate, on account of the population having become so great that the country could no longer feed all its inhabitants. How could such a statement have entered into an Etruscan decree? and if it had, may we not conclude that the Sardians would have re-

trenched this part of the decree in presenting it to Tiberius? It is evident that these Sardians did not believe a word about the famine. The emigration of a colony on account of the sterility of their country, and the want of provisions, was the very last thing which would have entered into their thoughts. Tacitus himself seems to have been aware of the improbability of this part of the story; and he slides over the slippery surface with a single word—*ob multitudinem*, leaving his readers to explain this word as they pleased. But it is obvious that the explanation is to be found in the narrative of Herodotus. The soil of Lydia could not nourish its inhabitants. A famine had lasted for twenty-two years before the emigration took place. Now let us hear how Tacitus concludes his long period, the first part of which I have already quoted, and which is alone quoted by the advocates of Herodotus—*simul literas imperatorum, et icta nobiscum fœdera bello Macedonum; ubertatemque fluminum suorum, temperiem cœli, ac DITES CIRCUM TERRAS, memorabant.*

The question therefore now under discussion is not, I contend, decided by the passage cited from Tacitus. This eminent writer, no doubt, gives his adhesion to Herodotus. But had Tyrrhenus been named in an Etruscan law, as the founder of a Lydian colony in Etruria, the evidence in favour of the Halicarnassian historian would have been far more important than that which could be possibly offered by any individual. I must, however, remark, that Tacitus, though

a profound thinker, and generally an impartial, as well as a luminous writer, was not always accurate, especially when he had to treat of the history, the laws, and the usages of Oriental nations, as his remarks on the Jews sufficiently attest.

I have now mentioned all the authorities which, as far as I know, directly confirm the statement of Herodotus concerning the emigration of the Lydian colony under Tyrrhenus. My readers will judge for themselves, how often the writers cited have copied the father of history, and have trusted to his word without further enquiry. They will likewise determine for themselves, whether these writers have not occasionally invalidated the authority of Herodotus; and whether they have not, perhaps inadvertently, introduced such contradictions to the general narrative of that historian, as would overthrow, if believed, his whole account of the monarchs of Lydia. Velleius Paterculus would destroy his chronology, by making Tyrrhenus contemporary with Orestes. Strabo would ruin his historical narrative of the dynasties of the Atyadæ and of the Heraclidæ, by reckoning Atys among the descendants of Hercules. Servius would take away all credit from his account of the establishment of Tyrrhenus in Umbria, if that prince were drowned, and never reached the shores of Italy. The testimony of Timæus shows that he attached no credit to the story of the famine. He appears to have believed only a part of the account given by Herodotus; and attributes the departure of Tyr-

rhenus from Asia to a dispute with his brother, to which the Halicarnassian historian has not made the slightest allusion. In the passage cited from Tacitus, the evidence to be adduced from the Etruscan decree, in favour of the Lydian origin of the people of Etruria, is not to be confounded with the testimony given by the Roman annalist himself in favour of the story of Tyrrhenus, as related by Herodotus. It is evident that, if the decree had represented the Lydians as forced to send forth one half of their population on account of the want of means to nourish the inhabitants, it would not have been cited by the Sardians, who, in their letters to Tiberius, boasted of the mildness of their climate, and of the fertility of their country.

Let us proceed to consider the evidence which is opposed to Herodotus. The opinions of Thucydides, of Hellanicus Lesbius, and of Myrsilus, cannot be reconciled upon this point to those expressed by the father of history, while Xanthus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus plainly and directly contradict his account of the Lydian emigration. Thucydides (L. 4.) speaks of the Tyrrheni as being of the same race with the Pelasgi, who had anciently dwelt in Lemnos, and afterwards at Athens; and consequently that great historian believed nothing of the Lydian origin of the Tyrrheni, though he could have been no stranger to the statement of Herodotus. The opinion of Hellanicus is not less decided. Let us hear Dionysius: Ἑλλανικὸς δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος τοὺς Τυῤῥηνούς φησι, Πελασγοὺς πρότερον καλουμένους,

ἐπειδὴ κατῴκησαν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, παραλαβεῖν ἣν ἔχουσι προσηγορίαν —*Hellanicus, the Lesbian, says that the Tyrrheni were first called Pelasgi, but that after they had fixed their abode in Italy, they assumed the appellation which they now have.* Dionysius then quotes the following passage from the work of Hellanicus which he entitled Phoronis:—τοῦ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν, καὶ Μενίππης τῆς Πηνειοῦ, ἐγένετο Φράστωρ· τοῦ δὲ, Ἀμύντωρ· τοῦ δὲ, Τευταμίδης· τοῦ δὲ, Νάνας. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος, οἱ Πελασγοὶ ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ Σπινῆτι ποταμῷ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ τὰς νῆας καταλιπόντες, Κρότωνα πόλιν ἐν μεσογείῳ εἷλον· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Τυρρηνίαν ἔκτισαν—*Phrastor was begotten of their king Pelasgus and of Menippe, the daughter of Peneus; Amyntor of Phrastor; Teutamis of Amyntor; Nanas of Teutamis. During the reign of Nanas the Pelasgi were expelled by the Hellenes; and leaving their ships on the Spinetic*[1] *river, in the Ionian gulph, took Croton,*[2] *a mediterranean city; and having stationed themselves there, founded the city which is now called Tyrrhenia.*

[1] The Po divides itself into several branches before it joins the sea. The most southern of these branches is thus mentioned by Pliny (L. 3.): *Hoc ante Eridanum ostium dictum est, aliis Spineticum, ab urbe Spina,* &c.

[2] The reader must be aware that this city is not to be mistaken either for Cortona in Etruria, or for Crotona in Magna Græcia.

Dionysius proceeds to say that Myrsilus differed from Hellanicus. The Tyrrheni, according to Myrsilus, after they had quitted their own country, were surnamed *Pelargoi*, or storks, from their wandering like those birds; and because they roamed in troops over Greece and other regions. Myrsilus adds that the wall, called the Pelasgic, was built by these wanderers, the probable origin of whose name I have pointed out in the second chapter of this book.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has mentioned the opinions entertained on the same subject by different writers, whose names, however, he has not adduced. Some of these writers asserted, (and this was the notion of the historian himself,) that the Tyrrheni were indigenous Italians. Others held them to be strangers. Those who denied that they were strangers, and who believed them to have always inhabited the country, contended that their name was derived from the fortified habitations, or towers, which they had first constructed, and which were named *turseis* as well by the Tyrrheni as by the Greeks.

The testimony of Xanthus, who flourished before Herodotus, is thus opposed to the statement of that historian by Dionysius: *Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς, ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, ἔμπειρος ὤν, τῆς δὲ πατρίου καὶ βεβαιωτὴς ἂν οὐδενὸς ὑποδεέστερος νομισθεὶς, οὔτε Τυρρηνὸν ὠνόμακεν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς δυνάστην Λυδῶν, οὔτε ἀποικίαν Μῃόνων εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατασχοῦσαν ἐπίσταται, Τυρρηνίας τε μνήμην ὡς Λυδῶν ἀποικήσεως, ταπεινοτέρων ἄλλων μεμνημένος, οὐδεμίαν πεποίηται·*

Ἄτυος δὲ παῖδας γενέσθαι λέγει Λυδὸν καὶ Τόρυβον. τούτοις δὲ μερισαμένοις τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν, ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καταμεῖναι ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἦρξαν, ἐπ' ἐκείνων φησὶ τεθῆναι τὰς ὀνομασίας, λέγων ὧδε· ἀπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοὶ, ἀπὸ δὲ Τορύβου Τόρυβοι. τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι συλλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς—Xanthus, the Lydian, who was skilled, if any one were, in the ancient history of his country, and whose authority is considered as inferior to none, has nowhere named Tyrrhenus in his writings as a chief of the Lydians. He neither knew that a colony of Meiones was established in Italy; nor has he made any mention of Tyrrhenia, as of a colony of Lydians, though he has commemorated other things of inferior consequence. But he states that Lydus and Torybus were sons of Atys, and that these having divided the paternal government, both remained in Asia; and imposed their names, says he, on the nations over which they ruled; speaking in this manner—" the Lydians are from Lydus, but the Torybi from Torybus. Their language differs little; and now they borrow not a few words from each other, like the Ionians and Dorians."

In confirmation of this statement Stephanus Byzantinus may be cited, as attesting the existence of a city in Lydia called Torrhebus, after Torrhebus, the son of Atys.—*Τόρρηβος, πόλις Λυδίας, ἀπὸ Τορρήβου τοῦ Ἄτυος.*

It may be said in favour of Herodotus, that he could not have been ignorant of the account given by Xanthus, and

that his silence concerning it proves this account to have been held in no esteem. The Lydians themselves, it may be added, furnished him with the information which he possessed relative to this subject. His opinion has been adopted by many distinguished writers; while the authority of Xanthus has been followed by none, with the exception of Dionysius himself, and of Stephanus the Byzantine topographer.

But Herodotus appears not to have been in the habit of showing much deference for the opinions of the few Greek historical writers who had preceded him, and whose works (a few fragments excepted) have not come down to modern times. He generally gives his own account of events, sometimes without taking notice at all of the opinions of others, and sometimes in admitting the existence of accounts which differed from his own, but which he does not put himself to the trouble of placing before his readers.

If the greater number of ancient writers have followed the statement of Herodotus concerning the sons of Atys, it may have been because the account given by Xanthus was less known. The sentiments of the former upon the point in question were evidently not those of his contemporaries; but, in later times the multitude was swayed by his opinion. No historian, since the days when he lived, has acquired such popularity as he whom we call the father of history. It would be little safe, however, to attribute his popularity to his superior character for veracity. The charms of his

style, its simple beauties, and its easy graces, won for Herodotus the admiration of the Greeks. By no subsequent historian has he been excelled in elegance of expression, and by none has he been equalled in the smooth rhythm of his periods. Without strict attention to grammatical correctness of language, and without skill and taste in the choice and in the collocation of words, no author could attain to eminence in Greece. These remarks will be understood and appreciated by the learned reader. I cannot expect them to be quite comprehended by those, who have taken their notions of fine writing from the productions of the popular authors of the present day.

We have now to consider the opinion of Dionysius, a writer held high as an antiquary, a critic, and an historian. As well as Herodotus he was a native of Halicarnassus, and had therefore the same advantages of vicinity, in making himself acquainted with the Lydians and with their traditions. But in treating of the subject before us, he possessed one most important qualification, which was wanting to his illustrious countryman, and which did much more than compensate for his writing at a later epoch. During his long residence at Rome, he had made himself conversant with the dialects and with the antiquities of Italy. After having stated himself to be persuaded that the Tyrrheni were not of the same race with the Pelasgi, he proceeds as follows: *οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Λυδῶν τοὺς Τυρρήνους ἀποίκους οἶμαι γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ὁμόγλωσσοί εἰσιν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν*

ὡς φωνῇ μὲν οὐκέτι χρῶνται παραπλησίως, ἀλλὰ δέ τινα διασώζουσι τῆς μητροπόλεως γῆς μηνύματα. οὔτε γὰρ θεοὺς Λυδοῖς τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζουσιν, οὔτε νόμοις οὔτ' ἐπιτηδεύμασι κέχρηνται παραπλησίοις, ἀλλὰ κατά γε ταῦτα πλέον Λυδῶν ἢ Πελασγῶν διαφέρουσι—*nor indeed do I think that the Tyrrheni are colonists of the Lydians; for their language is not the same; nor can it be said, that though they do not employ a similar speech, they yet have preserved memorials of the mother-country; for they neither venerate the same deities with the Lydians, nor use the same laws and institutions; but with regard to these things differ more from the Lydians than from the Pelasgi.* Having insisted on the greater probability of their having been originally an indigenous rather than a foreign nation, he thus continues:—*ἐπειδὴ ἀρχαῖόν τε πάνυ, καὶ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ γένει οὔτε ὁμόγλωσσον, οὔτε ὁμοδίαιτον εὑρίσκεται. ὠνομάσθαι δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ οὐδὲν κωλύει, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐν τύρσεσιν οἰκήσεις, καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς δυνάστου*—*but after it is found that they were an entirely primitive nation, having neither the same language, nor the same mode of living, as any other people; nothing forbids that they may have been called by this appellation* (of Tyrrheni) *by the Greeks; either on account of their dwelling in towers, or from some powerful man* (who was named Tyrrhenus).[1]

[1] The Greeks appear to have anciently written this name Τυρσηνὸς; but the Latins, who more frequently did just the

I have now placed before the reader all the ancient testimonies which I could collect, both for, and against, the statement of Herodotus, relative to the emigration of the Lydians under Tyrrhenus the son of Atys. To that statement there is one objection, which seems to me to be insuperable. Allowing to Herodotus, what it is not very easy to allow, that the Lydians could equip a sufficient number of ships for the purposes of this expedition, how are we to understand that after a famine, which had lasted during twenty-two years, (or even eighteen years, as we have it in some copies,) they could collect enough of provisions to victual a fleet, which was to transport one half of the population of the country from the ports of Smyrna and Colophon to the shores of Umbria?

It remains, however, for the reader to decide for himself, whether, or not, he will adopt the account given by the father of history. If he believe that Atys was the son of Manes, the son of Jupiter; and not one of the descendants of Hercules, as is asserted by Strabo—that this Atys was a

reverse, seem here to have changed the sibilant for the aspirate, and wrote Tyrrhenus, which mode of spelling the name was imitated by the later Greeks, who wrote Τυῤῥηνός. But we see from the etymology proposed by Dionysius that he alluded to the first manner of pronouncing the name, and derived it accordingly from *turseis*, as is mentioned in a preceding page.

king of Lydia; and not a Phrygian shepherd, as is stated by Diodorus Siculus—that he was a sovereign prince; and not a priest of the goddess Cybele, as is pretended by Dorotheus—that he was a real personage; and not a mere personification of the sun, as would appear from the accounts given of him by the mythologists—that he had two sons called Lydus and Tyrrhenus; and not Lydus and Torybus, as is positively said by Xanthus—that Tyrrhenus or Torybus settled in Tuscany with his Lydian colony; and that he neither remained in Asia according to the same Xanthus; nor was drowned after quitting Lydia, as is mentioned in one place by Servius—that the Lydians, who were never heard of as a maritime people, were able to fit out a sufficient number of ships to take on board one half of the inhabitants of a populous province—and finally, that while they were obliged to fast two days out of four, from absolute want of food, they were yet able to furnish such a great fleet with provisions, which might last not only during the voyage between Asia and Italy, but until the colonists had established themselves in their new possessions—if the reader, I say, can believe all this to be true, he will admit the statement of Herodotus as worthy of credit: if, like myself, he should think the whole account to be extremely suspicious, he will probably also think with me, that the historian may very possibly have given faith too easily to the inaccurate and ill attested traditions of the Lydians whom he consulted.

But while we doubt the truth of the story told by He-

rodotus of the emigration of the Lydians under Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, it does not follow that we must adopt the opinion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and consider the Tyrrheni as Italian aborigines. Neither am I of opinion that no Lydian colony settled in Italy. On the contrary, there seem to me to be strong proofs that a colony of Lydians was established in Etruria. This, however, is a question of great magnitude; nor shall I enter into any discussion concerning it; but leave it to be investigated and considered by other writers.'

Note No. 3.—That there should exist instances of coincidence in the accounts of the old Greek and of the modern Persian authors, who have treated, more or less fully, of the ancient history of Iran, ought surely to occasion no surprise. The marvel rather is that the examples of agreement between them are so rare. If, indeed, the reader did not carefully look out for such examples, he might never be aware of their existence, and might lay down the works of Pherdosi and Mirkhond, without suspecting that in their accounts of the kingdom of Iran, he had been reading the history of the same country which had been described to him as the empire of the Medes and Persians by Ctesias, Herodotus, and Xenophon. Perhaps already perplexed by the contradictory statements of the Greeks, he may have doubted what, and how much, he was to believe of the history of that empire; and certainly if he found himself

inclined to be sceptical from the perusal of their conflicting testimonies, his disposition to disbelieve would not be corrected by reading the narratives of the Persian historians. The accounts given by these historians of the Peshdadian and Kaianian dynasties are evidently fabulous; and it would be idle to attempt to soften the epithet. But as there are a few truths mixed with the fictions related by the ancient mythologists of Greece, so some elements of veracity may be discovered among the fanciful figments preserved by Persian tradition.

The Persians have never been willing to confess that their country had submitted to the sway of a foreign conqueror. Under the fictitious character of Zohak, a stranger and a usurper, who reigned over Iran for a thousand years, they typified, as I have shown in my first volume, the Assyrian Nimrod, or Belus, and his successors, down to the time of Sardanapalus. The sceptre was at length wrested from the hand of Zohak by Phridun, or Aphridun, a descendant of the royal race of Tahamurs. It is certainly not obvious at first sight that this Aphridun should be the same as Arbaces the Mede. The former, according to Pherdosi, liberated his countrymen from the yoke of the foreign tyrant; and assisted by the blacksmith Kawah, who displayed his apron for a standard, not only took Nineveh, the city where Zohak resided, but made himself master of all the vast regions known to the ancient Persians by the names of Iran, Turan, and Magrab. Arbaces, according to the Greeks, was not

so great a prince as the Aphridun of the Persians; but he delivered the Medes from the thraldom of their ancient oppressors; overthrew the empire of Sardanapalus; and, assisted by Belesis, king of Babylon, besieged and took the great capital of Assyria.

It is in vain to look for any regular system of chronology in the historical, or, as they should rather be called, the fabulous records of the Persians. Without therefore considering the duration which they have assigned to the reign of Aphridun, we may calculate its commencement for the year 747 before the Christian æra, which would answer to the epoch when Arbaces made himself master of Nineveh. Sir John Malcolm assigns 18 years to the reign of this prince, and only 34 years to the reigns of the four monarchs who succeeded him; and who are named Manuchehei, Nowzer, Zoo, and Kershasp, by Pherdosi; and Mandauces, Sosarmes, Artia, and Arbianes, by Ctesias. The account given by Herodotus would lead us to question this statement; but Ctesias agrees with the Persians, not only with regard to there being kings during this period, but with regard to their number; and indeed it is not easy to understand what the historian of Halicarnassus means to say, when he speaks of the *autonomia* of the Medes.

Sir John Malcolm has, I think, clearly shown the Dejoces of the Greeks to have been the same with the Kai Kobad of the Persians. We may therefore fix the election of this prince to the throne for the year 695 before our æra. His

reign lasted 40 years; and he was succeeded by Aphra, the Phraortes of Herodotus, and the Artynes of Ctesias. Some difficulty exists with regard to the successor of Aphra. Upon the whole, however, I am inclined to agree with Sir John Malcolm, and to consider him as the Kai Kous of Pherdosi. There seems to be no good reason for excluding this prince from the Kaianian dynasty, as has been done by some Persian writers, who have even confounded him with Nimrod. Mirkhond himself is guilty of this strange anachronism. Kai Kous is reckoned by the author of the *Shah-nameh* among the descendants of Kai Kobad; and in this case we must consider the Kai Kous of the Persians as the same with the Cyaxares of the Greeks. This point has been ably argued by the English historian of Iran, who adduces the eclipse foretold by Thales as corroborative of his statement. I must cite from the French translation the words of my respectable countryman: *Nous trouvons dans les vers de Ferdosi plusieurs faits qui s'accordent complètement avec la teneur générale du récit d'Hérodote. L'exemple le plus remarquable de cet accord est relatif à l'expédition de Kai Kaoos dans le Mazenderan. Le poëte Persan nous dit que, dans une bataille qui eut lieu dans cette province, le prince et son armée furent tout-à-coup frappés d'un aveuglement qui avoit été prédit par un magicien. Ceci paroit bien être l'éclipse prédite par Thalès.*

Although the history of Kai Kous little resembles that of Cyaxares in other respects, and although there be a manifest difference in the accounts of the Greek historian and of the

Persian poet concerning this extraordinary darkness, yet Herodotus and Pherdosi probably both alluded to the same event. If any objections be urged with regard to the chronology, it may be observed that this is a point about which the Persian writers have given themselves no concern, and have left their readers to conclude or to imagine what they please. If therefore we would attempt to fix the epoch when this eclipse took place, we must endeavour to discover it from the Greeks. Here then, I think, chronographers may learn a useful lesson. We find them often fiercely disputing about the exact year when events, long anterior to that of which we are speaking, had happened. How comes it then that nothing has yet been positively ascertained concerning the date of the battle between Cyaxares and Alyattes? The eclipse, according to Herodotus, had been predicted by Thales for the year when that battle happened; and the words of the historian leave us to draw no other conclusion than that it was a total eclipse of the sun. He distinctly says, that while the armies were engaged, *τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι—the day suddenly became night.* Those who have seen a partial eclipse must be aware, that it is far from producing nocturnal darkness. This effect is not even occasioned by an annular eclipse.[1] Is it not ex-

[1] I remember to have particularly remarked the degree of obscurity produced by an annular eclipse which I saw from the lofty site of the royal observatory at Naples. The

traordinary then that the astronomical phenomenon has not enabled modern calculators to determine the chronological epoch?

Herodotus proceeds to say that the Lydians and Medes, having seen that night had taken the place of day, gave up the combat. Such entire darkness could only have been caused by a total eclipse of the sun. Pherdosi says that

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darkness came slowly on; but never exceeded the obscurity of a fine summer morning about half an hour before sunrise. Contrasted with what had been the splendour of the preceding part of the day, an extraordinary gloom was certainly cast over the whole landscape. The groves and gardens of *Capo di monte* seemed to assume a sable hue; and "a browner horror" was thrown over the woods and mountains of *Castel a-mare;* but I could still trace the outlines of the distant hills, and of the island of *Capri.* The sea took the last dark tints that might be blue without being black; and in the distance its remoter limits were easily confounded with those of its shores. Every thing visible was involved in the universal shadow. It seemed as if Nature were undergoing some fearful change. The busy hum of the city was hushed. The multitude gazed with mute attention on the phenomenon. There was something awful in the gloom; yet it approached not to nocturnal darkness. I could discern every object around me far more distinctly than in the clearest night and with the brightest moonlight.

Kai Kous and his army were struck with blindness. The king of Mazenderan and his army are supposed by the poet to have still preserved their sight, no doubt by the aid and influence of the White Dæmon who was their ally. But if we refer to natural causes an event, which the Persian bard attributes to enchantment, we must consider the utter blindness with which Kai Kous and his army were struck, or rather the entire darkness with which they were surrounded, to have resulted from the temporary but total occultation of the solar orb. Thus there can be no evasion of the question. The eclipse, whether we take the Greek or the Persian account, must have been central and complete. How happens it then, I repeat, that chronology and astronomy cannot be made to agree about the time when the battle took place?

The first author after Herodotus, who spoke of these events, was Eudemus of Rhodes. He was a disciple of Aristotle; but seems to have given more attention to physics than was usual among the Peripatetics. He wrote a book entitled Astrological Histories, or, as I would rather say, Astrological Researches. Clemens Alexandrinus has quoted a passage from this work, in which Eudemus mentions the solar eclipse, which Herodotus has described as suddenly changing day into night. He tells us that it happened when the Lydians and the Medes were fighting, when Alyattes reigned over the Lydians, and when Cyaxares reigned over the Medes; about the time of the 50th Olympiad. (Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. L. 1.)

The first year of the 50th Olympiad answers to the year 3134 of the Julian period, (by which period it is usual to reckon in calculating eclipses,) and to the year 580 before Christ. I do not find that any solar eclipse was visible in Asia Minor during any part of the 50th Olympiad. Besides, it seems to be the general opinion of chronographers that Cyaxares died during the 46th Olympiad.

Pliny fixes the epoch of this eclipse for the 4th year of the 48th Olympiad, that is, for the year 585 before Christ; and his opinion has been adopted by Riccioli and M. Desvignoles. But the death of Cyaxares, as I have already mentioned, is generally thought to have happened in the 46th Olympiad. There is besides another objection to the statement of Pliny, of which we can speak with more certainty. An eclipse of the sun no doubt took place on the 28th of May in the year 585 before Christ; and as it was nearly total on the shores of the Hellespont, Pliny may have concluded that it was the same of which Herodotus meant to speak. But *this* eclipse could not have been nearly total on the banks of the river Halys, where, it may be presumed, the battle was fought. It may even be questioned, whether it could have been seen there at all; because it was only visible at Sardis just before sunset, and this city was situate more than a hundred leagues to the west of the supposed field of battle. At all events this eclipse could not have been total in the vicinity of the river Halys; and therefore could not have been that of which Herodotus and Eudemus have spoken.

Petavius, Marsham, and Corsini, have argued that the eclipse in question was the same which took place on the 9th of July, in the year 597 before Christ. M. Larcher, in his notes to his translation of Herodotus, has strenuously maintained this opinion, which, it seems, suited better than any other his chronological system. But conjecture, however plausible, must yield to calculation; and systems, however specious, must give way to facts. M. Larcher is himself forced to confess, that the eclipse, of which he speaks, was not central near the field of battle. He says, indeed, that it must have been considerable on the banks of the Halys. But a partial eclipse, though considerable, could not have created total darkness, nor have changed day into night. Besides, this eclipse could not have even been considerable on the banks of the Halys, where the battle was fought. The centre of the shadow was too far to the north. It passed over the Pontus Euxinus, the Palus Mæotis, and part of Scythia.

According to the opinion of Bayer, which has been adopted by Costard and by Stukeley, (in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1753,) the eclipse in question took place on the 17th of May, in the year 603 before Christ. These astronomers have stated that an eclipse of the sun took place on that day, and that it was total in that part of Asia Minor where the contending armies are supposed to have been engaged. It would seem that the question was here decided. But whether the writers, whom I have men-

tioned above, asserted more than they could prove, or whether prejudice be too strong even for demonstration, their reasoning is far from having produced general conviction, or from having obtained universal assent. I stop not to consider the objections of chronologers, who affect to speak of dates, even many ages before the Christian æra, with as much precision as if they were copying their details from the annual register of the last century. The solar eclipse of the year 603 before Christ must have happened, according to all these chronologers, during the reigns both of Cyaxares and of Alyattes; and the account given of it so perfectly answers to the statements of Herodotus and Eudemus, that, provided Bayer, Costard, and Stukeley be accurate in their calculations, I cannot hesitate to hold this eclipse to be the same as that to which the two Greek writers have alluded. But here comes the trying question. Have the astronomers just mentioned been accurate in their calculations? M. Delambre, a recent and an able judge, says, *il est difficile que l'éclipse ait été totale.* An objection like this, coming from such high authority, might shake our belief, and send us back upon the doubts which we had left behind us, if we could be convinced that M. Delambre had spoken on the authority of science, and not from the suggestions of prejudice. To answer to the account of Herodotus, the eclipse must have been total. M. Delambre says that this would be difficult. Why? If Pliny be accurate, an eclipse of the sun, either total, or nearly total, was

visible at Sardis on the 28th of May, in the year 585 before our æra. The calculation of Messrs. Costard and Stukeley consequently coincides with this fact. In the order of things, a similar eclipse must have been visible on the 17th of May, 18 years before, not only at Sardis, but probably on the banks of the Halys, where it may be reasonably conjectured that the battle was fought. There would also be this difference. The eclipse of 585 was not visible at Sardis until a short time before sunset; and if it were seen at all on the banks of the Halys, the sun must have set there with a part of his disk obscured. But the eclipse of 603 must have happened about noon at Sardis. Upon the whole, therefore, I am disposed to think that this was the solar eclipse of which Herodotus meant to speak.

From the manner in which Herodotus has related the anecdote concerning the prediction of Thales, little is to be inferred in favour of the scientific acquirements either of the philosopher himself, or of his countrymen the Ionians. Accordingly those modern writers, who pretend that the sciences of geometry and astronomy merited not the name, until they had been cultivated at a later epoch by the Greeks, cite the history of this eclipse as a proof of the truth of their argument. Thales, according to Herodotus, predicted the eclipse for that year in which the battle between the Medes and the Lydians happened to take place. The astronomical knowledge of the philosopher of Miletus must consequently have been both very inaccurate and very

limited. An astronomer, who could not tell within less than the space of a year the epoch of an eclipse, could have had but little acquaintance with the principles of his science. If Thales knew so little of calculation, it may be presumed that the Egyptians, among whom he had long resided, had been unable to give him better information, or more accurate instructions. Thus the science of astronomy must have been in its infancy in the time of Thales. Speaking of the eclipse in question, M. Delambre says, *il est impossible que Thalès en ait fait une prédiction précise et circonstanciée. S'il en a fait l'annonce, ce ne peut-être que d'une manière vague et incertaine, d'après la période Chaldéenne de dix-huit ans.*

In this way is it decided, that astronomy had never existed as a science, either among the Egyptians, or among the Chaldeans. With all due deference to M. Delambre, I am unable to perceive how he could prove that it was impossible for Thales to have made a precise and circumstantial prediction of an eclipse. In order to pronounce this oracular decree, M. Delambre should have previously shown that he was accurately informed of the whole extent of knowledge, which had been acquired by the philosophers of Babylon and Memphis during a long succession of ages dedicated to scientific pursuits. Let it be proved that these philosophers taught all that they knew to the astronomer of Miletus; and let it be shown that he could not calculate the time of an eclipse within less than a year; and then

the assertion of M. Delambre may be admitted without hesitation.

It is, however, evident that no modern writer can be sufficiently instructed on this subject, to be justified in holding any positive language concerning it. Almost all that we know of the scientific attainments of the Egyptians and Chaldeans we have learned from Greek and Roman authors, themselves but very ill qualified to inform us.

I have endeavoured to show in my second volume (Book 4. Chapter 6.) that these ancient nations were not quite so ignorant of astronomy as some modern writers have been pleased to represent them. In the case before us M. Delambre tells us, that Thales could have only announced an eclipse in a vague and uncertain manner, according to the Chaldean period of 18 years. Did the French astronomer mean to say, that by the help of this period no eclipse could be predicted within less than the limits of a year? I will venture to answer for him, that with all his contempt for the astronomical knowledge of the Chaldeans, he could not mean to make such an assertion. I admit that Thales made his prediction by the help of the cycle of 223 lunations, but I maintain that with its aid he might have made a very near approximation to the right time upon certain grounds. If he ventured not to name the day, nor even the month, when the eclipse was to happen, it must have been because he was ignorant of the calculation which had led the Chaldeans to establish their cycle. Let us suppose an

eclipse of the sun to have taken place in the same country in the year 585 before Christ, and that the philosopher of Miletus had carefully observed it. By the help of the cycle of 18 years he might have made a prediction nearly accurate, and upon certain principles, of the time of the solar eclipse which took place in the year 603. We have just seen that an eclipse of the sun was visible at Sardis in the year 585 before our æra.

But I have hitherto taken it for granted as a fact, that this philosopher foretold the eclipse for the year when it happened, and ventured not on a more definite term. Are we then so strictly to abide by the language and expressions used by Herodotus? The father of history seems to have been even unacquainted with the word ἔκλειψις (eclipse). After having stated that, while the Medes and Lydians were engaged in battle, the day was suddenly changed into night, he proceeds as follows: *τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, ὅρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή*—*Thales, the Milesian, had foretold to the Ionians, that there would be this mutation of the day; having premised for a limit a specific year, in which the change indeed happened.*

Some doubt may at first arise in the mind, whether the Greek historian, like the Persian poet, did not mean to indicate that there was something supernatural in this sudden darkness. But in another place (L. 7.) he speaks of an eclipse in the following terms: *ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν τοῦ*

οὐρανοῦ ἕδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νὺξ ἐγένετο—*the sun quitting his place in the sky became invisible; and there was night instead of day.* A child could not speak more simply, nor a clown more unphilosophically. It is evident that Herodotus, with all his knowledge of men and manners, and with all his elegance and good taste in writing, was utterly ignorant of astronomy and of the nature and causes of eclipses.

Are we then to take the word of the Halicarnassian historian, when he indicates that Thales predicted the eclipse in question, not for the day, nor even for the month, but for the year in which it happened? By the aid of the calculations in common use among the Chaldeans, the philosopher of Miletus might have even foretold the day. Eudemus flourished about a century after Herodotus. During this century the Greeks had made a great progress in astronomy, for which they were chiefly indebted to Meton and Eudoxus. There can be no question, that with regard to the subject before us, the authority of Eudemus is to be preferred to that of Herodotus. The disciple of Aristotle was himself a practical astronomer; and, as we learn from Simplicius (L. 2. Comm. 46.), had foretold an eclipse. Let us then hear precisely how Clemens Alexandrinus reports his statement concerning the prediction of Thales: Θάλην δὲ Εὔδημος ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογικαῖς ἱστορίαις, τὴν γενομένην ἔκλειψιν ταῦ ἡλίου προεἰπεῖν φησὶ, καθ' οὓς χρόνους συνῆψαν μάχην πρὸς ἀλλήλους Μῆδοι καὶ Λυδοὶ, βασιλεύοντος Κυαξάρους

μὲν τοῦ Ἀστυάγους πατρὸς, Μήδων, Ἀλυάττου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου, Λυδῶν. Συνάδρει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ χρόνοι ἀμφὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.—*Eudemus says, in his Astrological Researches, that Thales predicted that an eclipse of the sun would happen about (or according with) the time that the Medes and Lydians joined battle against each other; Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, then reigning over the Medes, and Alyattes, the father of Crœsus, over the Lydians. Herodotus agrees with him in his first book. The times are about the fiftieth Olympiad.*

But Clemens is evidently wrong in saying that Herodotus and Eudemus agree. The former states that Thales predicted the eclipse for the year in which it happened; but the latter indicates that the philosopher of Miletus announced it for the time when the Lydians and Medes met in battle. Clemens has likewise expressed himself in language that no astronomer would use. Eudemus, who knew the nature of an eclipse, who had even calculated one, would never have said that Thales predicted an eclipse, which was to take place when the Medes and Lydians should be fighting. It is clear that Eudemus must have stated, that Thales had accurately predicted an eclipse for an exact epoch, which corresponded with the day, and with the time of day, when the Median and Lydian armies chanced to be engaged in combat.

But if the philosopher of Miletus predicted an eclipse of the sun with the exactness which the words of Eudemus

seem to imply, he was probably acquainted with the method of calculation employed by the Chaldeans. Here, no doubt, the authority of Diodorus Siculus will be opposed to me. That writer, in speaking of the Chaldeans, has said, *περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλείψεως ἀσθενεστάτας ἀποδείξεις φέροντες, οὐ τολμῶσι προλέγειν, οὐδ' ἀκριβῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παραγράφειν τοὺς χρόνους—that producing very feeble demonstrations concerning a solar eclipse, they dare neither to predict, nor accurately to prescribe the time for it.* This statement may have been perfectly true when the historian wrote. The Chaldeans had then become a degraded people. If they still knew how to predict eclipses of the moon, and still held any sane opinions on the causes of those eclipses, it is not improbable, as indeed Diodorus seems to insinuate, that they may have gotten their lesson from the Greeks. All traces of the science of their ancestors were, it may be easily believed, obliterated from the minds of their degenerated descendants. The Sicilian historian appears to have described the Chaldeans, partly as they had been in ancient times, and partly as they were in his own. His remark, concerning their ignorance of the periods of solar eclipses, might *not* have been justly applied to them in remoter ages. What was true when Diodorus lived, might *not* have been so when Thales predicted the eclipse of the sun. Had some late authors observed how Diodorus has confounded the character of the Chaldeans in ancient times with that which they had in his own, they would probably have dwelt

less than they have done on the passage which I have quoted from that historian.

In stating my opinion with regard to the accuracy with which Thales might have predicted an eclipse of the sun, by the help of the Chaldean method, I admit that the cycle of 223 lunations does not so easily assist the calculation of solar as of lunar eclipses. It by no means follows, however, that an eclipse of the sun cannot be accurately calculated by the aid of this period.

But we are told that Ptolemy has recorded no solar eclipse, which had been observed by the Chaldeans; and that this circumstance confirms the statement of Diodorus. I have already remarked that the statement of Diodorus is of no importance, because it does not apply to the times when the Chaldeans could be considered as a scientific people. The silence of Ptolemy, with regard to the solar eclipses observed at Babylon, will be found, upon examination, to be of little avail to those who have insisted so much upon it. Ptolemy has mentioned only eight lunar eclipses, as noticed at Babylon. Are we thence to conclude that the Chaldeans had confined their observations to that number?

There are various circumstances, which may induce us to question, whether Hipparchus and Ptolemy were so well acquainted with the astronomical discoveries of the Egyptians and Chaldeans as some modern writers seem to think that they were. Those writers, who place the science of the

Greeks so much above that of the Orientalists, have not very clearly explained to us why some of the opinions of the latter were rejected by the former. If the philosophers of Alexandria knew all that had been taught in the schools of Memphis and Babylon, they might have certainly profited by some of the discoveries which had been made in those schools. Hipparchus might have turned to account the cycle of six hundred years, and might have learned from the Chaldeans to calculate, more exactly than he did, the exact length of the solar year. In amending some errors, into which the Egyptians appear to have fallen concerning the precise duration of their Sothic period, he might have corrected his own errors, in estimating the length of the tropical year as compared with the sideral. He might also, by determining the right ascension of Sirius, have enabled succeeding astronomers to ascertain the time which the stars take to move a degree in longitude. Three centuries would have been sufficient for determining, that within that period Sirius had advanced more than four degrees in right ascension; and Ptolemy would not have repeated the error of Hipparchus with regard to the precession of the equinoxes. The philosophers of Alexandria would have perceived, that in reckoning the precession at 69 years for the degree, (as, according to Montucla, was done by the Chaldeans,) they would have made a much more accurate calculation than they did, in estimating it, after the example of Hipparchus, at 100 years. My own conviction, however, is

(and I found it, as I think, on no uncertain basis,) that the Chaldeans reckoned the entire astral revolution at 25920 years, and consequently calculated the precession at 72 years for the degree. Hipparchus could not have been ignorant of the fragments of science collected by Pythagoras in Chaldea and in Egypt. Let the reader examine what I have stated in the 6th chapter of the 4th book of this work, and he will probably regret, with me, that this astronomer had not given more attention than he did to the doctrines of the Pythagoreans. I have shown that he was not the inventor of trigonometry. He found the Greek astronomers of his time possessed of a method of taking parallaxes; but, like Aristarchus, they had only some obscure traditions concerning the principles of their science. Hipparchus had the merit of re-establishing the principles which Pythagoras had imperfectly learned from the Chaldeans and Egyptians. It is then, I say, to be lamented that he did not give his attention to some other notions which Pythagoras had gleaned in Egypt and the East. Had he examined the reasoning of Aristotle, when that philosopher opposed the opinions of the Pythagoreans concerning the Sun's central position in our system, and being one of the fixed stars—concerning the earth's being a planet revolving round the sun—concerning the nature of comets—concerning gravitation—and concerning the doctrine of love and discord, or attraction and repulsion—he might have come to very different conclusions from those which have been adopted both by the Stagyrite and by himself.

If again Ptolemy had comprehended the Egyptians, when they called the planets Venus and Mercury companions of the sun, he might have renewed the forgotten, but the true doctrine of astronomy. The opinion of the Egyptians concerning the planets Mercury and Venus, which is mentioned by Cicero, and which is explained by Macrobius, was probably a fragment of their ancient astronomical system, according to which the earth with the other planets revolve round the sun. This system, long before the time of the Roman orator, was forgotten in Egypt; but this part of it might have been preserved by tradition.

From the statements which I have been making it may, I think, be justly doubted, whether the two great luminaries of the school of Alexandria, Hipparchus and Ptolemy, could have been acquainted with all the astronomical knowledge possessed by the Egyptians and the Chaldeans. If they were informed of all the doctrines taught at Thebes, Memphis, and Babylon, it remains for those who hold them to have possessed so much more science than the ancient astronomers of the East to tell us why they rejected truths which the moderns admit to be indubitable.

The first lunar eclipse observed at Babylon, according to Ptolemy's statement, was total. But who is really to believe that the Chaldeans had only begun to observe eclipses when that just mentioned took place? The time fixed for it answers to the year 721 before Christ, about eight centuries and a half before the epoch when Ptolemy flourished. Without giving attention to the exaggerated accounts of the

antiquity of the Babylonians, which I have mentioned in my first volume, we may be certain that they had been astronomers from a very early period. Epigenes, who lived before the time of Alexander, says, as Pliny (L. 7.) attests, that they had been observers for 720 years (that is, about 12 centuries before Ptolemy). According to Callisthenes, cited by Simplicius (L. 2.), they had made observations during a period of 1903 years before the capture of Babylon by Alexander (that is, more than 23 centuries and a half before the same Ptolemy). The tower of Belus appears from the first to have served as a vast observatory. Who then can believe the lunar eclipse, of the year 721 before Christ, to have been the first which was observed and recorded by the Chaldeans? I suspect Hipparchus and Ptolemy to have learned the little they knew of the astronomical system taught at Babylon from very imperfect and inaccurate documents.

I have mentioned that Ptolemy reckons only eight eclipses of the moon as observed at Babylon. When we consider the length of the period, we may well doubt, whether either he or Hipparchus had ever seen the records. It is difficult to believe that where the periods of eclipses were reckoned at all, not more than eight, and those lunar, should have been registered in as many centuries. But our doubts must, I should think, be much augmented, when we find that Ptolemy has noted as recorded by the Babylonians, and as observed at Babylon, a lunar eclipse which could not possibly have been seen there at all. The eclipse, of which I

speak, took place on the 22d of December, in the year 383 before Christ; and, as it appears from the tables, could not have been visible in any part of Mesopotamia.

The statement which I have just been making authorises me, I think, to consider the silence of Ptolemy concerning the solar eclipses which might have been observed at Babylon as no proof that they were *not* observed. Unmoved therefore by this argument, on which much reliance has been to no purpose placed, I repeat, that if Thales was instructed in astronomy by the philosophers either of Chaldea or of Egypt (not yet crushed under the iron sceptre of the despots of Iran), he might have predicted an eclipse of the sun with sufficient accuracy to justify the words of Eudemus.

In a fragment of Anatolius, quoted by Fabricius (vol. 3.), I find these words: Εὔδημος ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἀστρολογίαις, ὅτι Θαλῆς εὗρε πρῶτος ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τροπὰς αὐτοῦ περίοδον, ὡς οὐκ ἴσῃ δεῖ συμβαίνει—*Eudemus relates in his book on astrology, that Thales first found that an eclipse of the sun, and his period* (or revolution) *at the solstices, do not always happen at equal intervals.* This would seem to imply, that Thales was acquainted with the motion of the nodes, and that he was aware of the sun's unequable motion in the ecliptic. He could have obtained this information only from the Chaldeans or the Egyptians.

We are told, and in a tone of supercilious contempt for

those who think otherwise, that no astronomer, before the time of Hipparchus, possessed sufficient science to calculate an eclipse. But Simplicius (de Cœlo L. 2.) distinctly says, that this same Eudemus, of whom I have already said so much, and who flourished more than two centuries before Hipparchus, had predicted, and, as it seems, had rightly predicted, an eclipse. According to Plutarch (in Vita Dionis) Helicon of Cyzicus, who was senior to Eudemus, accurately foretold a solar eclipse to Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. It is stated both by Livy (L. 44.) and by Pliny (L. 2.) that Sulpicius Gallus predicted a lunar eclipse with exact accuracy. All these authorities, however, are held to be of no avail by some modern astronomers. They can find no satisfactory evidence from which it can be shown that the Greeks, before the time of Hipparchus, were capable of calculating the time of an eclipse. It would be in vain to suggest to these reasoners that other nations may have previously made such advances in astronomy as to have enabled them to do this, and that the Greeks may have followed the practice of those nations, without being acquainted with the principles upon which the method was founded. The Chinese and the modern Hindus (if I be not misinformed) calculate the periods of eclipses in this manner.

Thus, admitting it to be true that, before the time of Hipparchus, the Greeks knew nothing of plane, and consequently nothing of spherical trigonometry, it does not

follow that they could not have predicted eclipses by the help of methods which they might have obtained from the Chaldeans and Egyptians. This is indeed to suppose that astronomy was better known to those ancient nations than is allowed by certain authors who think differently from me upon this question in the history of science. But since it is asserted by various respectable writers that eclipses were accurately predicted before the time of Hipparchus, I see no reason for disbelieving them.

It is still repeated that we have no proofs. If apodeictic reasoning be required, mine will probably not be considered as satisfactory. In the case now before us I argue chiefly by the help of induction; and I ask how the Pythagoreans could have announced some of the truths which they promulgated, if their master had not obtained his information from men well versed in the exact sciences? It is difficult to understand how astronomers, who had discovered the true system of the universe, should have known less than those who persevered in maintaining a system which modern philosophers themselves acknowledge to be erroneous. I cannot comprehend why we should say that Hipparchus reasoned more accurately on astronomical subjects than the Chaldaic and Egyptian masters of Pythagoras, unless we be prepared to maintain the Ptolemaic in preference to the Copernican system.

The Greeks knew little of the vulgar, and still less of the scientific language of the eastern nations. It is even sur-

prising that the European strangers should have acquired any knowledge whatever in Chaldea and in Egypt, oppressed, pillaged, ruined, by their Persian conquerors. Yet we are called upon to decide on the scientific acquirements of the Orientalists from the statements of the Greeks—not at the period when the sciences flourished in Egypt and in Asia, but when the inhabitants of those countries were rapidly declining from that point of civilisation to which the Europeans themselves were tardily advancing. Left to myself to name the epoch when I should suppose that the sciences had been carried to the highest degree of perfection in Chaldea and in Egypt, I should indicate the time when Pythagoras visited those countries; believing, as I do, that the school of Crotona was already established before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

Scientific truths can be discovered only by scientific men. It is then rather too much, when we would enquire what was the state of science in Egypt and in Chaldea, to be referred to some wretched forgeries, as being the writings of Petosiris, Berosus, Manetho. In vain would we speak of the truths discovered by the ancient astronomers of Egypt and the East. Those truths, which the Pythagoreans announced to the Greeks, but never clearly understood, are called by our impartial writers of the present day LUCKY GUESSES. All the errors into which the Samian philosopher and his disciples fell, in teaching to their countrymen doctrines which they themselves did not comprehend, are to be con-

founded and mixed up with the truth; and the whole is to be represented as the result of fanciful conjecture, sometimes right, but oftener wrong in its surmises. Nothing can induce our impartial philosophers to admit to the astronomers of Babylon and Memphis any share of the praise which they allow to the Greeks. Having thus taught us the great superiority which these Greeks possessed in the sciences above all other nations, they modestly leave us to perceive (as we must do) their own great superiority over the Greeks. Thales, bred among the ignorant Ionians of Miletus, and Pythagoras, educated among the rude islanders of Samos, went to Egypt, and instructed the inhabitants, who had been engaged in the study of the sciences for a thousand years before, in the very rudiments of those sciences—in the very elements of geometry and astronomy!

It would be unfair to attribute any opinion to prejudice, when a better cause for it can be found, or imagined. I know not, however, to what other cause I can ascribe the facility with which some writers admit that Thales taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramids, while they refuse to believe that he could have learned from the Chaldeans how to calculate an eclipse. There appears to me to be something very like prejudice in the opinion of those who maintain, on the report of Iamblichus, that Pythagoras, a raw youth of twenty years of age, gave lessons in the elementary parts of mathematics to the sages of Egypt. The writers to whom I allude do not tell us for

what object the two Greek philosophers visited the banks of the Nile. I always thought, and must still think, that it was for the sake of receiving, not of giving, instruction. How miserably then must they have been disappointed! How astonished must Thales have been when he found that he had to show to his new masters in science the method by which they might ascertain the height of their pyramids! How cruelly must Pythagoras have been mortified! The young Samian went to Memphis and to Thebes for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the arcane learning of the priests. For the same purpose he got himself initiated into the sacred mysteries, and courageously passed through all the trials of a terrible ordeal. But how cruelly mortified, I say, must have been this young enthusiast in the pursuit of knowledge, when after a long and solitary confinement—after having submitted to the rite of circumcision—after having fasted rigidly—after having passed through the water, and through the fire—all for the sake of acquiring instruction—he found at last, that in Egypt he should have every thing to teach, and nothing to learn!

The writers, of whom I speak, have not accounted for the continuance of this delusion among the Greeks, who, in the search of knowledge, still directed their steps towards Egypt. Even after the invasion of the Persians—even after the times of Cyrus and Cambyses—even when the Egyptians were trodden down as a people, and when the sciences

had ceased to flourish among them—the Greeks continued to visit Heliopolis, Memphis, and Diospolis, in the hopes of gathering some valuable fragments among the ruins of the fallen edifice of ancient science. If the European stranger had found the Egyptians scarcely acquainted with the elements of mathematics and astronomy, it is quite extraordinary that they should have persevered in seeking for information in those sciences in a country where less was known of them than in their own. But we find that more than a century after the time of Cambyses, when the priests, as a learned body at least, had been nearly, if not completely crushed, Plato and Eudoxus did obtain some information at Heliopolis, which was highly important in a civil as well as in a scientific point of view. Now, if the Egyptians could instruct the Greeks in science in the time of Eudoxus and Plato, when the latter people had advanced so much in every kind of knowledge, and when the former, humiliated, oppressed, enslaved, had retrograded in every sort of learning, and in every department of civilisation, we may infer, I think, that in the days of Pythagoras and Thales, before the Persian invasion had taken place, the philosophers of Thebes and of Heliopolis were far better acquainted with the sciences than the natives either of Samos or of Miletus. This seems to me to be no very bold assumption; and yet it ought to appear so to those who assert that Thales and Pythagoras taught the elements of science to the priests of Egypt.

M. Delambre, as might be expected in a great master of the exact sciences, disclaims all partiality, and proposes to take proofs and authorities as the sole guides of his opinions: "*Que nous importe*, says he, *que l'astronomie ait été autrefois aussi florissante qu'elle peut l'être aujourd'hui? Pour nous, nous ne considérons que les faits dont nous pouvons fournir la preuve—les doctrines que nous analysons, peuvent se vérifier dans des ouvrages qui existent.* This celebrated writer would have kept within the limits of these rules, which he had prescribed to himself, if he had stated that he could find no traces of the methods employed by the Greek philosophers, before the time of Hipparchus, for calculating eclipses. The case becomes very different, when he denies that before the time of that astronomer, either the Greeks, or any other people, could have predicted eclipses upon any certain principles. We are surely not quite authorised to say, that no such principles could ever have been known before a particular epoch, and that epoch of two thousand years standing, because we have no existing documents to attest the mode of their previous discovery. If the Greeks themselves were unacquainted with those principles, they might, as I have suggested above, have employed methods of calculation obtained from other nations that had already invented them.

A writer, if such be his pleasure, may choose never to venture on a supposition. He may refuse ever to tread on conjectural ground. He may desire to speak of facts only,

and may admit nothing for a fact, which is not proved to be such by indubitable evidence. How far this extreme caution can be practised with advantage, or indeed practised at all, in treating of most subjects which come under our consideration, appears to be very questionable; and geometers, when they write the history even of their own science, would sometimes do well to remember that, in considering moral evidence, we must generally either remain in a state of doubt, or be satisfied with probabilities. An historian mounted on mathematical stilts, and requiring demonstration at every step which he takes, will make little progress in his narrative of events. Neither can I think any writer to be justified in rejecting well attested facts, because he himself is unable to understand the precise manner in which they came to pass. If any thing be reported to have happened, which implies a contradiction; which is opposed to facts already recognised as such; or which tends to overthrow opinions already built on experience; hesitation is natural, and rejection may be not only justifiable but laudable. The matter is very different when acquiescence is refused to the testimony of credible witnesses, because it is not accompanied by demonstrative proofs, and because it contradicts some notions previously admitted, and connected with some favourite system.

Plutarch has stated in his life of Dion that Helicon of Cyzicus predicted a solar eclipse to Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse; and that this eclipse took place precisely as it

was foretold. *Si le fait est véritable*, says M. Delambre, *Hélicon fut plus heureux que prudent.* The remark is smart for a grave astronomer, but the truth of the statement can scarcely be questioned upon any principle of just criticism. There could be no reason for inventing a falsehood of this nature. Plutarch has sometimes repeated the idle tales told by idle people. In the present instance, however, he relates a circumstance, which can only appear improbable to those who have decided, on their own authority, that no eclipse could be predicted with certainty before the time of Hipparchus.

There can be no doubt that it requires considerable skill and practice to announce precisely the time of an eclipse, and particularly of a solar eclipse. The Chaldeans and Egyptians, it is said, had not the skill, and therefore could not have had the practice. They were unacquainted, it is asserted, with trigonometry—could neither take the parallax, nor measure the diameter, of the sun. They had not observed the apparent difference of the moon's diameter at its perigee and at its apogee; had no means of calculating this planet's horary motions in longitude and latitude; and could not have predicted in what parts of the earth an eclipse would be visible, since they were unable to find the inclination of the moon's orbit to the ecliptic.

It is rather strange that these assertions should be made without proofs, by the same writers who call for the proofs by which it may be shown that the astronomers of Egypt

and Chaldea could calculate the time of an eclipse. If proofs be wanting on one side; they are also wanting on the other. We are told by respectable authors, that both solar and lunar eclipses had been accurately predicted by Greek, and even by Roman astronomers before the time of Hipparchus. Are we to refuse credit to those authors, because they have not explained to us the methods employed by the astronomers? Are we to believe that they were liars, because they were not pedants?

The priests of Egypt, during a long succession of ages, had been in the habit of registering each eclipse which took place. According to Diogenes Laertius, they had recorded 373 solar, and 832 lunar eclipses. This proportion is admitted by modern astronomers to be too exact to be imaginary; and such a number of eclipses may have been well observed, under the unclouded sky of Egypt, during a period of 12 or 13 centuries. (Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne.) Wherefore, I would ask, were these eclipses so carefully observed, and so regularly registered, unless for the purposes of calculation? Why should the Egyptians not have made as much progress in 12 or 13, as the moderns have done in 2 or 3 centuries?

The Chaldeans were acquainted with the cycles of 235, and of 223 lunations. This knowledge alone supposes no small progress in astronomy. By the aid of the latter cycle (it is admitted by Lalande) they could have predicted the day when an eclipse was to happen. Halley actually em-

ployed it to announce a solar eclipse for the year 1684. Now if Thales had been taught how to calculate an eclipse by the aid of this cycle, which no one will deny was known to the Chaldeans, what becomes of the assertion of M. Delambre, when he says, that if the Milesian philosopher made the prediction attributed to him, it could only have been in a vague and uncertain manner, according to the Chaldean period of 18 years?

But objections have been made to the accuracy of conclusions drawn from calculations resulting from the use of this cycle by astronomers, to whom no prejudice can be imputed. It has been thought that not only solar, but even lunar eclipses could not be accurately or certainly predicted by its help. I have found the following passage in Baille's History of Ancient Astronomy. *Elle (la période de* 223 *lunaisons) n'est pas même toujours suffisante pour les éclipses de lune. M. le Gentil a remarqué qu'une éclipse totale de lune observée par Tycho, le* 31 *Janvier,* 1580, *avoit été plus petite à chacun de ses retours, de sorte que l'éclipse correspondante du* 30 *Mai,* 1760, *n'a été que d'un demi-doigt, et que la pleine lune du* 10 *Juin,* 1778, *ne sera point écliptique: ainsi au bout de* 200 *ans les éclipses ne reviennent plus suivant l'ordre de la période de* 18 *ans, ou de* 223 *mois.* According to my reckoning, no full moon 220 years after a total eclipse, would be again eclipsed at all at the same place. But what does this prove against the use of the cycle? When the sun, moon, and nodes have been in a

line of conjunction, they return, after a period of 223 lunations, to the same positions with the difference of 28′ 12″. An eclipse which comes in at the north pole will, after 77 periods, go off at the south pole. If we suppose, for example, that the shadow of the moon eclipsed falls on the north pole, on this present day, it will advance at each period of 223 lunations southwards, and will, after 77 such periods, or in about 1388 years hence, go off our globe entirely, and will not return under less than 12,492 years. This being the case, it follows that in about two centuries after a total eclipse, or after 12 revolutions nearly of the cycle after a total eclipse, there will be no lunar eclipse, however small, which will be visible at the same place where the total eclipse had been observed. But from what I have been stating, it is clear that the eclipse would be smaller at each return, when viewed from the spot where the total eclipse was observed, until the shadow quitted that spot altogether. I cannot see therefore the force of the objection made by M. le Gentil.

The Chaldeans are said to have been ignorant of the methods of taking parallaxes. I have endeavoured to refute this assertion in my second volume, to which I refer the reader.

The astronomical knowledge, attributed to the Chaldeans even by Ptolemy, might have inclined M. Delambre to speak of it with less contempt than he has been pleased to do. But in case I should be thought to interpret the lan-

guage of Ptolemy too much in favour of my own argument, I shall place before the reader the following extract from Bailli: *Il semble que Ptolemée attribue aux Chaldéens particulièrement la découverte de l'inégalité de la lune et du mouvement de son nœud. Les Chaldéens avoient donc apperçu que la lune se meut inégalement tant en longitude qu'en latitude, et que les termes de cette inégalité, c'est à dire, les points de l'orbite de la lune où cette inégalité est nulle, n'étoient pas fixés, et parcouroient successivement tous les dégrés du zodiaque; qu'à chaque révolution la lune, en passant par son nœud, coupe l'écliptique en différens dégrés; ce qui prouve que ce nœud a un mouvement; d'où résultent différentes révolutions de la lune, tant à l'égard du soleil et des étoiles que de l'apogée et du nœud.*

It appears to me that the Greeks themselves, before the establishment of the Alexandrian school, were not so ignorant of astronomy as some modern writers assert that they were. I am not indeed of the opinion of those, who hold the ancient astronomers, referred to by Ptolemy and Geminus, to have been Greeks. I follow Bailli and La Place, in thinking that they meant to speak of the Chaldeans. The Greeks, however, were certainly in the habit of observing, not only eclipses of the sun and moon, but the occultations of the planets, before the age of Hipparchus. Aristotle observed an occultation of the planet Jupiter, and another of the planet Mars. I shall cite the passage in which he mentions the last observation, because it contains a remark

concerning the Egyptians and Chaldeans, of whom this great man speaks in a tone very different from that adopted by our modern philosophers: *τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἑωράκαμεν διχότομον μὲν οὖσαν· ὑπεισελθοῦσαν δὲ τῶν ἀστέρων τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος, καὶ ἀποκρυφέντα μὲν τὸ μέλαν αὐτῆς, ἐξελθόντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ φανὸν καὶ λαμπρόν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀστέρας λέγουσιν οἱ πάλαι τετηρηκότες ἐκ πλείστων ἐτῶν Αἰγύπτιοί καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι, παρ' ὧν πολλὰς πίστεις ἔχομεν περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ἄστρων.* *We have seen the moon, when bisected,* (one half illumined, and the other dark,) *pass under the planet Mars, which concealed itself behind the obscure part, and came out from behind the bright and shining part. The Egyptians and Babylonians, who were anciently observers for a long course of years, and from whom we have many things worthy of credit concerning each of the constellations, speak in a similar manner of other stars.* There are some conclusions, which may be drawn from this passage, and which are of no slight importance in considering the question of which I have been treating. I must, however, leave the task to my readers of drawing these conclusions for themselves; because, carried away by my subject, I have already extended this note far beyond the limits which I originally intended to prescribe to it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Phrygians.

ALMOST the whole of that part of Asia Minor, which extends from the shores of the Propontis and the Hellespont to the frontiers of Lycia and Pisidia, as well as a considerable portion of the coast of the Euxine sea, appears to have been known at an early epoch by the name of Phrygia. In the course of ages, however, fresh colonies, and fresh tribes of strangers, made irruptions into the Asiatic peninsula; and while the vanquished and submissive natives changed their masters, they at the same time easily changed, as circumstances required, the denomination of the country in which they resided. The provinces were separated into different districts, and were divided into new partitions,

by new colonies and new conquerors. Thus various portions of territory, which had been comprehended within the limits of Phrygia, were afterwards considered as appertaining to Caria, Meonia, Mysia, Galatia, and Bithynia. A part of Phrygia was named Meonia after the prince who was called Manes, or Meon, and whose questionable existence seems to belong to mythology rather than to history. The province of Mysia was so named, as we learn from Strabo and Eustathius, on account of its abounding in a species of tree called *mysos* by the natives, and *oxua* by the Greeks. The whole of Galatia, according to Solinus, was denominated Phrygia before the irruption of the Gauls into that province. Bithynia, at an early period of history, was called *Bebrycia*, as we are told by the Greeks; but it remains to be considered, whether this name be not a corruption of Phrygia, itself a corruption of the original northern word which Phryxus introduced into Asia when he fled from Bœotia, and sacrificed the ram with the golden fleece on the altar of Mars in Colchis.

It is likewise to the arrival of new settlers in the country that we must attribute the different topographical divisions into which Phrygia was partitioned. We hear of the epithets *Epictetos*, *Hellespontiaca*, *Pacatiana*, *Paroreia*, and *Salutaris*, applied to districts, each of which, however, was contained within the limits of the ancient Phrygia, denominated the *Less*, where it extended along the shore of the Hellespont; and the *Greater*, where it receded from the coast, and gave its name to a considerable part of the interior regions of the Lower Asia. The following account of it may be found in Dionysius Periegetes:—

Ἔνθεν ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπιτρέχει ἄσπετος ἀγκὼν
Βαιοτέρης Φρυγίης· ἑτέρη δέ τοι ἐνδοθικεῖται,
Εὐρυτέρη γεγαυῖα, παρ' ὕδασι Σαγγαρίοιο.
Ἀλλ' ἤτοι μεγάλη μὲν ἐπ' ἀντολίην τετανύσται,
Ἱππόβοτος, λιπαρή τε. Πρὸς ἑσπερίην δ' ἂν ἴδοιο
Τὴν ἑτέρην, ἣ κεῖται ὑπὸ Ζαθέης πόδας Ἴδης,
Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν ὑπὸ πλευρῇσιν ἔχουσα,
Ἴλιον ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ παλαιγενέων ἡρώων,
Ἴλιον ἣν ἐπόλισσε Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων,
Ἴλιον ἣν ἀλάπαξαν Ἀθαναίῃ τε καὶ Ἥρῃ,
Ξανθῷ ἐπ' εὐρὺ ῥέοντι καὶ Ἰδαίῳ Σιμόεντι.

These verses may be thus imitated :—

Thence, (all the length the Hellespont extends,)
In one vast curve the Lesser Phrygia bends;
And then receding to the Sangar's streams,
Spreads wider as it meets the morning beams;
There, rich in fertile fields and verdant plains,
Its well-fed steeds the Greater Province trains.
And now behold, where glows the western sky,
At Ida's feet, another Phrygia lie!
Still, as of old, beneath the mountain's steeps,
Where Troy once stood, the gale of evening sweeps—
Troy, splendid city, that in times of yore,
On its high site, a race of heroes bore—
Troy, that to build two rival gods were join'd—
Troy, that to burn two goddesses combined:
Raised by Apollo's and by Neptune's aid;
O'erthrown by Juno and the blue-eyed maid.
There Xanthus still the rugged valley laves,
Rolling in eddies broad his amber waves,
To meet, where Ilion's towers are seen no more,
The Idæan torrent on the desert shore.

v. 809 et seq.

Those, says Strabo, *whose country is contiguous with that of the Bithynians on the south, and who dwell in the vicinity of the Mysian Olympus, are denominated Mysians and Phrygians. . But each*

nation, continues the same writer, *is double; for that Phrygia, over which Midas reigned, and a part of which has since been occupied by the Galatians, is called the Great; while the Small, which is situate on the Hellespont, and near Mount Olympus, is named Epictetos. There are likewise two Mysias—that which is contiguous with Bithynia, and Epictetos, and which Artemidorus says was colonised by the Mysians beyond the Ister—and that near the Caïcus and Pergamene, as far as Teuthrania and the mouths of the river. In this manner, as we have often said, these names have been changed into others; and thus the ancients called the country about Sipylus Phrygia; though it be not clear, whether it formed part of the Great or of the Small Province: and by them also Tantalus, Pelops, and Niobe, were denominated Phrygians. But in whatever way this might have happened, the change is manifest: for Pergamene and Elaïtis (by which the Caïcus flows, and between which lies Teuthrania, where Teuthras reigned, and where Telephus was educated) hold a middle place between the Hellespont and the country round Mount Sipylus, and Magnesia, the region which*

lies under it. Thus, as has been already stated, is it difficult to determine

[Χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν, καὶ Φρυγῶν ὁρίσματα. Il. B.]

separately the boundaries of the Mysians and the Phrygians. (Strabo L. 12.)

The origin of the Phrygians was probably soon forgotten by themselves, and was never certainly known to the Greeks. If we believe Herodotus (L. 2.), the Egyptians acknowledged the Phrygians to be the most ancient of all the nations of the world. But the account, which the father of history so gravely relates of the ill-imagined experiment, by which Psammetichus decided this question, can only be placed among the idle tales which imposture imposes on credulity, and which tradition, unsuspecting, and innocent of fraud, transmits, in every country, from one generation to another. This story amused, if it did not convince the Greeks. *The comic poet,* says Eustathius (S. 114.), *calls an old man* βεκκεσέληνον, *with reference to the Arcadians, who were fabled to have existed before the moon; and to the Phrygians, in whose language*

beccos signifies bread. The commentator on Lycophron seems also to have been pleased with the conceit, which he repeats nearly in the same words with the commentator on Dionysius. But the great antiquity of the Phrygians was admitted by authors, who probably founded their opinion upon better authority than on the story told of the Egyptian monarch. *Arrian relates*, says Eustathius, *that the Phrygians are not only the happiest, but the most ancient of mankind.* The learned commentator, however, seems to me to err when he attributes a similar opinion to Herodotus: Ἡρόδοτος δέ φησι καὶ αὐτὸς πρώτοις ἀνθρώπων τοῖς Φρύγας εἶναι—*Herodotus says himself that the Phrygians are the first* (the most ancient) *of men.* I have no recollection of any such assertion having been made by the father of history, who has indeed stated the opinions of others, but has not announced his own.

There can be no doubt that popular tradition attributed great antiquity to the Phrygians as a nation. The forgers of the Sibylline Oracles were probably attentive observers of the pre-

judices of the multitude; and they have not only represented the Phrygians as a primitive people, but have even asserted that Mount Ararat, on which the ark rested when the flood subsided, was situate in the Phrygian territory. The same impostors, in verses as devoid of elegance as of truth, pretend that Phrygia was the first land which emerged out of the diluvial ocean; and they have personified and addressed that country as the mother and the nurse of regenerated nations.

Στήσονται δ' ἄνεμοι, καὶ δεύτερος ἔσσεται αἰών.
Ὦ Φρυγίη, πρώτη δ' ἀναδύσε ἀφ' ὕδατος ἄκρου,
Πρώτη δ' αὖ θρέψεις γενεὴν ἑτέρην ἀνθρώπων,
Ἀρχομένην αὖθις· ἔσση δὲ τροφὸς περὶ πάντων. κ. τ. λ.

Verum sistentur venti, venietque secunda
Ætas. O Phrygia, a summis tu vertice prima
Emerges undis: hominum tu prima renascens
Educes genus, et censebere maxima nutrix! &c.

Ἔστι δέ τις Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἠμείροιο μελαίνης,
Ἠλίβατον, τανύμηκες ὄρος, Ἀράρατ δὲ καλεῖται.

Assurgit Phrygiæ mons quidam in finibus ætræ,
Arduus, alta petens, Ararat quem nomine dicunt.

Ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Μάρσυου πέφυκαν.
Τοῦ δὲ κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖο καρήνῳ
Ληξάντων ὑδάτων.

Fluminis unde alti Marsyæ manat origo.
Hujus in excelso, postquam cessantibus undis,
Constitit arca jugo.

These notions, however, concerning the great antiquity of the Phrygians were by no means universal. On the contrary—the tide of opinion seems often to have flowed in another direction. The following passage occurs in Herodotus: *Οἱ δὲ Φρύγες (ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι) ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῆϊοι ἐόντες συνοίκουν Μακεδόσι. Μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας.* (L. 7. c. 73.) *The Phrygians (as the Macedonians say) were called Briges, such time as being Europeans they dwelt with the Macedonians; but passing over into Asia, together with their country, they also changed their name into Phrygians.* After having reported the passage which I have just cited from Herodotus, Stephanus Byzantinus makes the following remark: *Βριγία ἡ Τροϊκὴ* (lege *Τρωϊκή*). *Τουτέστιν ἡ Φρυγία ἀπὸ*

Βρίγου τοῦ κατοικήσαντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. Brigia, which is Trojan. This is Phrygia, (so called) from Brigos, who dwelt in Macedonia. Eustathius, in his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes (S. 42.), remarks that the Bryges, when they passed over from Europe into Asia, changed their name to Phrygians; and the same writer has said elsewhere, that they were variously denominated *Brygi*, *Bryges*, and *Phryges*.

It is to be regretted that Strabo, on whose accuracy reliance may be often securely placed, has spoken upon the subject in question with less than his usual clearness, and with more than his usual scepticism. In various passages, which the learned reader will easily remember, and immediately recognise, the great geographer has apparently confirmed the tradition of the Macedonians as reported by Herodotus. He intimates at least, that the Phrygians had been neighbours of the Macedonians. In his 10th book he calls them Thracian colonists. But there are other passages from which it might be inferred that he felt little deference for the

Halicarnassian historian, and gave no credit to the Macedonian tradition. Thus in his 12th book he treats this, and all similar accounts of the origin of the Phrygians, Lydians, and Mysians, as fabulous. After having mentioned them, he expresses his disbelief of their truth, and his contempt for their authority, in the following words: *συνεργεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας μυθοποιίας, ἤτε σύγχυσις τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἡ εὐδαιμονία τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐντὸς Ἅλυος—the confusion of the nations beyond the Halys, and the prosperity of the country within it, co-operate to produce such fabulous fabrications.*

If we believe Justin (L. 2.), the Egyptians and the Scythians warmly disputed which of the two had the better right to be considered as the more ancient nation. It seems difficult to understand how this controversy could have arisen, or how it could have been maintained, if we suppose the Roman historian to have meant by the Scythians the barbarous hordes that dwelt beside the frozen waters of the Tanais, or among the snow-clad cliffs of Caucasus. The probability is that Justin intended to speak

of the dispute, of which mention had been already made by Herodotus, when the Greek historian related the anecdote of which I have spoken above, concerning the similar contest which existed between the Egyptians and the Phrygians. The last-named people may have been considered by Justin (or rather Trogus Pompeius) as of Scythian origin; and this writer, who, as well as Herodotus, believed that Asia Minor had been conquered by Sesostris, whom he calls Vexores, might thus have easily understood how the Egyptians had come into collision with the Scythians, and had either denied, or admitted, the better claims of those northern barbarians to an antiquity more remote than their own.

The statements of the Greek and Roman historians relative to the origin of the Phrygians being thus contradictory, it seems at first sight difficult, if not impossible, to decide from their evidence, whether those Phrygians were, or were not, a primitive people; whether from times beyond the reach of history they were found still dwelling in the land of their fathers;

or whether they had quitted the Macedonian mountains at a later period, to seek in the Lower Asia a fairer clime and a more grateful soil. From the examination, which I have given to it, I can have little hesitation in pronouncing my opinion on this question. It appears clear to me that, independently of the direct evidence which I have already cited, there is sufficient indirect and collateral evidence to prove that the Phrygians had a common origin with the Thracians, Mysians, and Bithynians; issued with them from the same mighty hive; and belonged in the beginning to the same northern swarm.

As, however, I have thus admitted the proofs to be indirect and collateral, I must also acknowledge the conclusion which I have drawn from them to be neither positively certain, nor immediately obvious. Demonstration is always difficult, and often doubtful, in proportion to the time and space which it requires, in order to be expressed in suitable terms and in perspicuous language. Mathematical reasoning leads, or ought to lead, to truth by the nearest

road; and demonstration, as employed by the geometer, should resemble his own definition of a straight line, and proceed from one point to another by the shortest way possible. But the range is limited within which the human mind can follow this mode of ratiocination. Demonstration is nearly confined to the categories of number and quantity. The laws, which logic would establish for the regulation of the understanding, in carrying on any process of reasoning—whether from being imperfectly expressed, or imperfectly understood—whether from being ill taught, or from being ill acquired—are often difficult to observe, and are rarely successful in their application. In questions, where we attempt no more than to prove a moral probability, we must often be satisfied to argue from remarkable analogies; to admit, where similitude is obvious, the likelihood of relationship; and to acknowledge conclusions as probably just, when drawn from inferences allowed to be fairly established. But brevity disappears with certainty. The union of many indirect proofs, and the coincidence of many

concurring testimonies, may sometimes insure conviction, when any one of them considered singly and alone would fail to produce that effect; and the mind will often resist the influence of arguments taken separately, when it would be forced to cede to their weight, if it had to struggle against the impression made by their cumulative mass. The arguments are numerous and various, which indicate the Phrygians to have been, comparatively speaking, rather a recent than a primitive nation—rather a migrant than an aboriginal people. Unfortunately the force of these arguments lies chiefly in their number and variety; and I feel that I should hardly do justice to the opinion which I hold, if I neglected to urge in its favour the testimonies which led to its adoption. At the same time the convenience, as well as the patience of my readers is to be consulted. It may likewise easily happen that these readers, quicker of perception, sooner persuaded, or less sceptical than I am, may be satisfied with fewer and with weaker proofs than were requisite to work conviction in myself. I founded my

opinion, not only on the traditions of the Macedonians, as reported by Herodotus, but on the resemblance which I thought I saw between the Phrygians and some other nations, in customs, manners, dress, usages, religion, and language. It must, however, be obvious, that it would require far more space and time than I can now bestow upon the subject, were I to attempt to examine each of these questions separately and in detail. I propose, therefore, to make in the next chapter some brief remarks on the points which I have mentioned, with the exception of language. It is chiefly from the similitude between the dialects which they spoke that I infer the probability of a relationship between the nations; and to this subject I shall dedicate the concluding chapter of the present book.

CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the Origin of the Phrygians.

ANCIENT writers, as I have shown in the preceding chapter, appear not to have decided whether the Phrygians ought to be considered as a primitive, or as a comparatively recent people. We have seen the Egyptians acknowledging the antiquity of the Phrygians to have been greater than their own—the fabricators of the Sibylline oracles proclaiming Phrygia to have been the first region of the globe which emerged out of the waters of the deluge—and a writer so distinguished as Arrian, whose opinion was not likely to stand alone, pronouncing the Phrygians to have been both the happiest and the most ancient nation of the world. On the

other hand, we have found the Macedonians giving a totally different evidence; holding indeed language that is positively contradictory; and asserting these same Phrygians to have been originally Europeans, who, before they passed the Hellespont, had dwelt like themselves in Macedonia.

But since the direct evidence is thus found to be nearly as strong on the one side as on the other, it only remains for us to be guided, in forming our own opinions, by the presumptive proofs and the indirect evidence which may still lie open to our research. I shall therefore proceed to state the principal arguments which have induced me to conclude, from testimony which cannot be considered as positive, but which is not wanting in weight and authority, that the Phrygians were of the same race with the Thracians; that they were of Asiatic origin; that at a very early epoch they passed into Europe, where they dwelt for a period of several ages; and that finally they returned to the East, crossed the narrow straits of the Hellespont, and, with many other migrating hordes,

settled at last on the fertile plains of the Lower Asia.

1. Strabo seems to have considered the Mysians and Thracians as belonging to the same race (L. 10.); and as he establishes only a nominal difference between the Phrygians and Mysians (L. 12.), he apparently admits the identity of all the three. When therefore we compare this statement with his assertion in another place, where he distinctly calls the Phrygians Thracian colonists, we may hold the doubt which he appears to have had on the subject, and of which I have spoken in the preceding chapter, to have exercised no permanent influence over his opinion.

This inference may be drawn with the more certainty, that the same author (L. 12.) represents the Bithynians as colonists from Thrace. We are indeed told by Herodotus (L. 7.) that the Thracians, who passed from Europe into Asia, were called Bithynians. The historian adds, that they had been previously named Strymonians, from having dwelt on the banks of the Strymon, a river which divides Thrace

from Macedonia. In the Periplus ascribed to Arrian the Bithynians are designated as a Thracian people. We cannot therefore be surprised to learn from Xenophon (Anab. L. 6.) that a part of Bithynia was known by the name of Asiatic Thrace. Thus, in speaking of the port of Calpe, he says that it was situate ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ—*in Thrace which is in Asia.* Now it is difficult to admit the Bithynians to have been of Thracian origin, and to hold a different opinion with regard to their Phrygian neighbours. Eustathius, in his commentary on Dionysius Afer, cites the authority of Arrian to prove that the Thracians, Mysians, and Phrygians passed from Europe into Asia under a leader named Patarus. He adds, that the Thracians expelled the others, and dwelt in Bithynia themselves. But Eustathius also says that the Bithynians were anciently called *Bebryci,* and Apollonius Rhodius (L. 2.) gives us the same information. Now it may be suspected that *Bebryci* is a name corrupted from Bryges. Herodotus has told us that, according to the Macedonians, the *Bryges* and *Phryges*

were the same people, and Stephanus Byzantinus describes the former as a Thracian nation —*Βρίγες ἔθνος Θράκικον.*

2. The similarity of customs, manners, and usages, existing between neighbouring nations, would not alone suffice to prove their primary identity; but where customs peculiar and singular are found in two countries, it is natural to conclude that the inhabitants of both sprang from a common source. If other circumstances furnish reasons for thinking that the Phrygians and Thracians were of the same family in the beginning, this opinion will receive strong confirmation from the resemblance which they bore to each other in the practice of usages which were peculiar to themselves. When therefore it is found that both in trivial matters, and in circumstances of graver import, some similar and remarkable usages existed among these nations, as well as among other tribes and families connected with them, it will remain to be considered, how far such examples serve to prove their original fraternity, as well as their relationship with those numerous hordes that

peopled the ancient world from the borders of the Ganges to the western extremities of Europe. I shall proceed to place a few examples before the reader.

Music was introduced at the feasts of the Thracians and Phrygians; and we learn from Athenæus (L. 13.) that the instruments were sounded in honour of each guest, as he drank his portion of wine, or beer, from the circulating cup. This custom, unimportant in itself, is yet sufficiently remarkable to argue something in favour of the ancient consanguinity of the two nations that practised it.

The contempt for agriculture, which, according to Herodotus (L. 5.), prevailed in Thrace, was extended, as appears from Mela and Justin, to the Asiatic provinces situate to the west of the river Halys. The inhabitants of those countries consequently resembled in this sentiment the warlike inhabitants of Gaul and Germany. But aversion from agricultural pursuits probably possessed less influence among the Phrygians and Thracians than among their ruder neighbours in the west and the north. It

may indeed be surmised that, in cultivating the ground, the Germans copied the inhabitants of Thrace and of Asia Minor, as far as the difference of soil and of climate could justify, or even permit, imitation. Barley was the grain which appears to have been principally in use. The combatants in the war of Troy, as appears from Homer, fed their horses with it. Beer was the usual beverage of the Thracians and the Phrygians, and was known to both by the name of *bryttum*. It was the custom of the Phrygians, as may be gathered from a passage in Stephanus Byzantinus, to deposit their grain in subterranean caverns called *sirvi;* and the same practice probably existed in Thrace and in Germany, since, if we believe Pelloutier, a word resembling this indicated a granary in the Teutonic dialect.

But perplexed by the contradictory testimonies of the ancients, the modern writer will probably always find it difficult to decide on the degree of civilisation which had in early times been acquired by the inhabitants of Phrygia and Thrace. We hardly know, indeed,

whether we ought to rank them with polished nations, or with barbarians. By some authors we find them represented as rude warriors, and as gloomy fanatics; strangers, not only to the luxuries, but to the commodities of life; the superstitious and debauched worshippers of Cybele; the cruel and blood-thirsty ministers of Mars; and the depraved and drunken votaries of Bacchus. These statements appear irreconcilable with others. If, for example, the Thracians had hated agriculture, how shall we believe that, with the assistance of Eumolpus, they introduced the culture of the vine into Europe? Had the Phrygians been strangers to the labours of the field, Aristagoras would not have ventured to describe their country as abounding in cattle, and as being productive in corn, beyond all others. Neither indeed is it likely that a people unaccustomed to labour in the fields should delight in gardens. The Greeks, however, have celebrated the beauty of the roses which grew in the gardens of Midas, and of which they could only have heard from tradition. Men must be farmers before they become gardeners, and gardeners before they

become florists and botanists. With all his power, Darius would have found it no easy task to construct, in a country of barbarians, as we are told by Xenophon he did, a palace in the midst of a paradise. Had the Thracians been rude unlettered savages, would Thrace have ventured to claim such men as Orpheus, Musæus, and Zamolxis for her sons? The Phrygians are said to have been the first people who coined money. They were at one time celebrated as skilful mariners, and as masters of the sea. Their knowledge in music, and their taste in architecture, have been admitted and admired by the Greeks themselves. Their dresses were splendid; and for their skill in embroidery the females of Phrygia might be said to rival those of Egypt and of Phœnice. How shall we call these people barbarians? But perhaps we shall be surprised to find how nearly luxury was allied to barbarism, grace to rudeness, and urbanity to ignorance, as we proceed to consider, and to compare with each other, the customs and manners of the Thracians and Phrygians.

It was the custom of the Thracians to burn

their dead. This might perhaps appear doubtful, if we could appeal to Herodotus alone, who has not expressed himself very clearly on the subject. But the language of Solinus (C. 16.), provided his authority be admitted, is decisive; and I see no reason for suspecting his accuracy on the point in question, especially as we learn from Nicolas Damascenus that the same custom was practised by the Phrygians. There is certainly nothing to blame in this mode of disposing of the bodies of the dead, though it has been in some instances accompanied with usages revolting to humanity. The Hindus were not the only people among whom it was the custom for the widow to throw herself on the burning pile which consumed the body of her husband. (Cicero Tusc. Quæst. L. 1. Diodor. Sicul. L. 19.) The same superstitious and inhuman practice existed among the Thracians, and even among the ancient Goths. (Herodot. L. 5. Steph. Byzant. in voce Γετία.)

Both the Thracians and the Phrygians appear to have offered up human victims as sacrifices to their gods. It would seem from the state-

ment of Lucian, that the former worshipped Zamolxis, their pretended legislator, and immolated victims on his altars; and that the latter paid the same tribute of respect to Men, or Menis, the son of Jupiter, and the first king whom fable places on the throne of Phrygia—
Θρᾷκες Ζαμόλξιδι θύοντες, Φρύγες δὲ Μήνι.

Justin (L. 1.) has depicted in glowing colours the demoralisation of the Phrygians and Lydians. But the faults of these nations were not more flagrant than those of the Thracians, which they greatly resembled. Ebriety and idleness were the predominant vices of the men —licentiousness and debauchery of the women. It was, however, peculiar to these countries that husbands should be strictly jealous of the virtue of their wives, while fathers connived at the prostitution of their daughters. The Lydian or Thracian woman who had publicly sold her favours before marriage, might not, but at her peril, extend them afterwards beyond the nuptial bed. When the father and the destined bridegroom thought that meretricious arts and accomplishments had done all the services of

which they were susceptible, the booty was divided, and the rites of marriage were celebrated between the mercenary harlot and the former pander to her pleasures, who had now become the suspicious guardian of her conjugal fidelity. (Herodot. L. 5. Justin, L. 1. Solin. C. 15. &c. &c.)

The inhabitants of Byzantium, if we believe Ælian (L. 3.), were at least more consistently profligate than their Lydian and Thracian neighbours; and in that city husbands without scruple turned to profit the charms of their wives. Justin (L. 1.) accuses Cyrus of having corrupted the minds of the Lydians, and of having introduced and encouraged every kind of depravity among them, in order to govern them with greater facility, and to deprive them of that spirit and energy, which might induce them to throw off the Persian yoke. It appears, however, that the Thracians, Phrygians, and Lydians had always been in the habit of selling their children as slaves; and in Thrace the wife was bought, often at a high price, by the husband from the unfeeling parents. The

natural disposition of the women seems indeed not to have been characterised by the usual delicacy of the sex. Pomponius Mela defends the Thracian ladies from the charge of being addicted to wine, and yet he seems to admit that their boisterous hilarity might occasionally resemble the effects of intoxication. (L. 2.)

The manner in which some of the Thracian tribes conducted themselves at births and at deaths seems so contrary to the usual practice, and so repugnant to the common feelings of the rest of mankind, as to render its existence questionable, if not incredible. The day when a new-born child opened its eyes to the light was often a day of sorrow in Thracian families. Now if parental affection really belong to our nature, how can it be possible that this innate sentiment of the soul should express itself in the language of grief upon such occasions? Neither can it be easy to understand how conjugal love should mourn over new-born infants —the proofs and the pledges of its own existence. But the sorrow produced by the birth

of a child was not more extraordinary, than was the joy which prevailed when the remains of a friend and relative were consigned to the tomb. The testimony of ancient authors, however, upon these points is too clear to be misunderstood or misinterpreted. Hear for example the words of Pomponius Mela:—*Lugenter apud quosdam*, says that writer, in speaking of the Thracian tribes, *puerperia natique deflentur; funera contra festa sunt, et veluti sacra cantu lusuque celebrantur.* Parents grieved over the infant born to strive against adverse fortune; and wept over the helpless stranger doomed to struggle against evils, from which man, in the happiest state of his existence, is never entirely exempt. Friends rejoiced, when he whom they loved was gone down to the grave, unacquainted with sorrows, which, had he lived longer, might have proved fatal to his repose; and have disturbed and darkened the evening of his life.

It may however be thought that such lofty sentiments as these, even if devoid of affectation, are rarely felt by philosophers themselves. How they should have found their way into the iron

bosoms of Thracian warriors, it is difficult to comprehend. Some of these barbarians are said to have believed in the immortality of the soul, and in the unity of the Deity. Recognising the moral attributes of God, and the existence of spirit as distinct from matter, they might have elevated their imaginations to the contemplation of a future state, and thence have inferred the little value of this transitory life. But it is seldom that Nature teaches lessons so sublime to her rude and illiterate disciples. In a few instances such men as Menu, Confucius, Zoroaster, and Zamolxis, may have instructed unlettered nations in the elements of wisdom; and gleams of light, falling from the torch of truth, may have occasionally illumined the souls of barbarians, and have shown to uneducated minds the path that leads to virtue. These instances, however, are surely extremely rare; and though as much contempt for life may be felt by savages as by philosophers, yet it might be doing injustice to unsophisticated Nature, were we to suspect her simple children of being as callous to the sentiments and affec-

tions which she herself inspires, as may occasionally be the philosophic disciples of the Academy, or of the Porch.

3. Isidorus has remarked that nations are distinguished from each other by dress and language. This was more truly the case in ancient than in modern times.

It appears that the Lower Asia, from the age of Ninus down to the epoch of the revolt of the Medes, continued to be a province of the Assyrian empire, and was governed by princes who were vassals and delegates of the Great King. The Thracian hordes, therefore, that sought to establish themselves in Asia, would naturally assume the costume of the Assyrians, by whose permission they had obtained possession of the country which they inhabited. Hence the Thracians of Asia, that is to say the Bithynians, the Phrygians, the Mysians, the greater part of the population between the Halys and the Meander, differed entirely in their costume from the Thracians of Europe. The appearance of the warrior of Thrace was intended to intimidate rather than to conciliate the stranger. His

skin was punctured. His hair was shaven in front to prevent the enemy from seizing him by his fore-locks. (Herodot. L. 5.) The helmets of the Thracians resembled those of the Paphlagonians (Herodot. L. 7.) and of the Mosynæci, which last people are described by Xenophon (Anab. L. 5.) as wearing leathern helmets, such as those used by the Paphlagonians, having a spiral tuft of hair in the middle, very similar in form to a tiara—*ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνη σκύτινα οἷα περ τὰ Παφλαγονικὰ, κρώβυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον ἐγγυτάτω τιαρειδῆ.* The Thracian helmets, as appears both from Herodotus (L. 7.), and from Xenophon (Anab. L. 7.), were made of the skins of foxes; and we learn from the same historians that the Thracians clothed themselves warmly, wearing long mantles, and tunics underneath. They also wore buskins, made of the skins of young roebucks. Their arms were few and light—javelins, poniards, and small shields.

It is to be observed that Herodotus assigns the same costume to the Thracians of Asia as Xenophon gives to those of Europe. But if the

father of history did not commit a mistake, it is probable that those Asiatic Thracians, who continued to wear the dress of their ancestors, were to be found only among the poorer classes of the Bithynian population. The costume of the Phrygians was different from that of the Thracians in every respect, except in its amplitude. No art was left unpractised by the Phrygian to adorn his form. The poets, both Greek and Latin, Homer and Horace, represent Paris as occupied with combing his flowing hair, and then arranging his ringlets in graceful curls. Even the heroes of Troy perfumed their hair, and confined their locks in golden rings. Æneas himself did not disdain, if Turnus spoke the truth, to anoint his locks with oily odours, and to fix the station of a curl by the help of the heated irons. (Æneid. L. 12.)

As far as we can judge from the gems, medals, and marbles, which represent the costumes of the Phrygians, they may be thought to have been copied from the dresses worn by the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians; and examples of all of these may be found in the elegant and

interesting volumes published by Mr. Hope. There appears, indeed, to have been no want of magnificence in the attire of the Trojans. The golden armour of Glaucus, though no doubt a dream of the imagination, could have been supposed to exist only among a rich and luxurious people. If indeed we could trust to Homer, even the Thracians of Europe were no strangers to wealth; and the chariot of Rhesus would serve to prove that already, in the Trojan times, the arts had begun to flourish on the banks of the Strymon. But the reasons are obvious why the Phrygians changed their costume, when they settled in Asia, and why it became finally very unlike to that of their European ancestors. Not only did the climate of their new abode call for this alteration; but their interest showed them the advantage of paying court to the Assyrians, by copying their dress and manners.

4. I have now shown that the Thracians and Phrygians greatly resembled each other in many of their customs, usages, and manners; and I have also endeavoured to explain how they

came to vary in their dress, though both nations sprang originally from the same source. There yet remain three important points to be considered. We have yet to examine, whether the similarity of their laws, their religion, and their language, would likewise induce us to believe in their original identity.

With respect to their laws, it may be well doubted whether we have sufficient documents, to which we could trust, or upon which we could form a decisive opinion. There could be no advantage in disturbing the dust of Zamolxis, to discover what laws were promulgated by that legislator, (who lived, by the consent of Herodotus, long before Pythagoras,) if in the age of the Halicarnassian historian the Thracians were still the barbarians which he represents them to have been—esteeming nothing so much as idleness; and holding nothing to be so honourable as war and pillage, and nothing so contemptible as manual labour, and the cultivation of the soil.

5. During the early period of their history the Thracians and Phrygians were probably

both addicted to the Tsabian superstitions. In progress of time each nation took from those superstitions such dogmas and doctrines—such rites and ceremonies, as were best suited to its own notions. The former adored Bacchus, Mars, and Diana; and their kings worshipped Mercury, from whom they claimed descent, and who was probably the same with the Odin, or Woden, of the Goths and Germans. The latter, less warlike, appear to have built no temples to Bacchus or to Mars; but they established rites in honour of the Great Mother, equally cruel and fanatical, and perhaps more disgraceful to human reason, than those existing among their neighbours; and if the Thracians celebrated the name of Bacchus in their drunken orgies, the Phrygians carried to yet more mad excess their disorderly revels at the festivals of Cybele and Atys. As, however, I propose (if it please God to grant me sufficient strength) to treat in a separate dissertation of the Samothracian mysteries, I shall not enter at present into any further discussion concerning the religious institutions of the Thracians and Phry-

gians. I shall only generally observe, that the rites and ceremonies established in honour of their deities, argue rather for than against the ancient consanguinity of these two nations.

6. It now remains for me to examine and compare, as far as my knowledge will permit, the Thracian and Phrygian dialects. If these be found to resemble each other, we may reasonably infer the former relationship of those who spoke them. But this is a subject of great interest, which presents a vast field of discussion to the inquirer; and I shall therefore reserve the consideration of it for another chapter.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Origin of the Phrygians.

IT appears to me that almost the whole of that part of Asia Minor, which extends from the shores of the Propontis and the Hellespont to the borders of Lycia and Pisidia, as well as some portion of the coast on the Pontus Euxinus, was known at an early epoch by the name of Phrygia. In the course of ages new colonies, and new tribes of strangers, made irruptions into the peninsula; and while the humiliated and submissive people changed their masters, they at the same time easily changed, as circumstances required, the denominations of the provinces in which they dwelt. Thus several portions of territory, which had been comprehended within the limits of Phrygia, were after-

wards considered as districts appertaining to Caria, Mæonia, Mysia, Galatia, and Bithynia.

Mysia appears to have belonged to the Phrygians, who gave to it that appellation from its abounding in a species of tree, which bore the name of *mysos* in their language, and which, from the sharp and bitter taste of its leaves, or perhaps from their prickly points, was called *oxua* by the Greeks. Such at least was the opinion of Strabo, expressed oftener than once. The whole of Galatia was denominated Phrygia, as Solinus distinctly attests, before the irruption of the Gauls into that province.

It is likewise to the arrival of new settlers in the country that we must attribute the different topographical divisions into which Phrygia was separated. We hear of the epithets *Epictetos*, *Hellespontica*, *Pacatiana*, *Parorica*, and *Salutaris*, applied to several distinct districts, each of which, however, was contained within the limits of the ancient Phrygia, denominated the *Less*, as it approached towards the Hellespont; and the *Greater*, as it receded from the coast, and extended its name and its dominion to-

wards the interior regions of the peninsula. The following account of it is given by Dionysius Periegetes :—

Ἔνθεν ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπέτρεχεν ἄσπετος ἀγκὼν *
Βαιοτέρης Φρυγίης· ἑτέρη δέ τοι ἔνδοθι κεῖται,
Εὐρυτέρη γεγαυῖα, παρ' ὕδασι Σαγγαρίοιο·
Ἀλλ' ἤτοι μεγάλη μὲν ἐπ' ἀντολίην τετανύσται,
Ἱππόβοτος, λιπαρή τε· πρὸς ἑσπερίην δ' ἀνίδοιο
Τὴν ἑτέρην, ἣ κεῖται ὑπὸ ζαθέης πόδας Ἴδης,
Ἣδὲ καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν ὑπὸ πλευρῇσιν ἔχουσα
Ἴλιον, ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ παλαιγενέων ἡρώων,
Ἴλιον, ἣν ἐπόλισσε Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων,
Ἴλιον, ἣν ἀλάπαξαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη,
Ξάνθῳ ἐπ' εὐρὺ ῥέοντι καὶ Ἰδαίῳ Σιμόεντι.

These verses may be thus imitated :—

Thence, all the length the Hellespont extends:
One curve immense the Lesser Phrygia bends;
Another, reaching to the Sangar's streams,
Spreads wider, as it meets the morning beams;
Where, rich in fertile fields and verdant plains,
Its well-fed steeds the Greater province trains.
And now behold, where glows the western sky,
At Ida's feet, another Phrygia lie!

* Ἀγκὴ signifies a curve, an elbow; and Dionysius clearly employs ἀγκὼν in the same sense.

There Troy, beneath the mountain's steeps of yore,
An airy site, her ancient heroes bore—
Troy, that to build, two rival gods combined—
Troy, that to burn, two goddesses were join'd—
Raised by Apollo's and by Neptune's aid—
O'erthrown by Juno and the blue-eyed maid—
There Xanthus still the rugged valleys laves,
Rolling in eddies broad his amber waves,
To meet, where Ilion's towers are seen no more,
*Th' Idæan torrent on the desert shore.**

Strabo says that those who are contiguous to the Bithynians on the south, in the neighbourhood of the Mysian Olympus, are denominated Mysians and Phrygians. (L. 12.) *But each nation,* continues he, *is double; for that Phrygia, over which Midas reigned, and a part of which has since been occupied by the Galatians, is called the Great; while the Small, which is situate on the Hellespont, and near Mount Olympus, is named Epictetos. There are likewise two Mysias—that Mysia which is contiguous with Bithynia and Epictetos, and which Artemidorus says was colonised by the Mysians beyond the Ister; and that*

* I am well aware that this version is not so literal as it might, and perhaps should have been made.

other Mysia around the Caïcus and Pergamene, extending as far as Teuthrania, and the mouths of the river. In this manner these names, as we have frequently said, have been changed into others; and thus the ancients called the country about Sipylus, Phrygia; though it be not clear, whether it formed part of the Great, or of the Small province; and by them also Tantalus, Pelops and Niobe, were denominated Phrygians. But in whatever way this might have happened, the change is manifest; for Pergamene and Elaïtis, by which the Caïcus flows, and between which lies Teuthrania, where Teuthras reigned, and Telephus was educated, hold a middle place between the Hellespont and the country about Mount Sipylus, and Magnesia, the region which lies under it. Thus, as has been said, it is difficult to determine

(Χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ὁρίσματα. Il. B.)

separately the boundaries of the Mysians and the Phrygians.

The origin of the Phrygians was probably soon forgotten by themselves, and was never certainly known to the Greeks. If we believe Herodotus (L. 2.), the Phrygians were acknow-

ledged by the Egyptians to have been the most ancient nation of the world. But the account given by the father of history of the ill-imagined experiment, by which Psammetichus decided the question, can be placed only among the idle tales which tradition, in every country, transmits from one age to another. The story amused, if it did not convince the Greeks. *Hence the comic poet,* says Eustathius, *calls an old man* Βεκκεσέληνον, *with reference to the Arcadians, who were fabled to have existed before the moon, and to the Phrygians, in whose language Bekkos signifies bread.* Izezes also speaks to the same purpose. The great antiquity of the Phrygians seems, however, to have been admitted by grave writers, who might have had better grounds for their belief than the experiment said to have been made by the Egyptian monarch. *Arrian relates* (says Eustathius in his notes to Dionysius Periegetes) *that the Phrygians are not only the happiest, but the most ancient of men.* (ὀλβιωτάτους δὲ τοὺς Φρύγας, καὶ Ἀρριανὸς ἱστορεῖ, λέγων καὶ ὅτι λέγονται Φρύγες παλαιότατοι ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι.) The same opinion has been attributed by Eus-

tathius to Herodotus—*Herodotus himself says that the Phrygians are the first* (the most ancient) *of mankind.* (Ἡρόδοτος δέ φησι καὶ αὐτὸς πρώτους ἀνθρώπων τοὺς Φρύγας εἶναι.) This is a mistake. Herodotus has stated the opinion of others, but has said nothing of his own sentiments on the subject. Eustathius would have been more accurate if he had named Justin.

There can however be no doubt that popular tradition ascribed great antiquity to the Phrygians. The forgers of the sibylline oracles were probably (as impostors generally are) attentive observers of the prejudices of the people; and they have not only represented the Phrygians as the primitive inhabitants of the earth, but have even pretended that Mount Ararat, on which the ark rested, was situate in the Phrygian territory. Phrygia, said to have been the first land which emerged out of the diluvial ocean, is addressed by them as the primæval nurse of regenerated nations; and a mountain belonging to it is asserted to have been called Ararat.

Στήσονται δ' ἄνεμοι, καὶ δεύτερος ἔσσεται αἰών.
Ὦ Φρυγίη, πρώτη δ' ἀναδύση ἀφ' ὕδατος ἄκρου,
Πρώτη δ' αὖ θρέψεις γενεὴν ἑτέρην ἀνθρώπων,
Ἀρχομένην αὖθις ἔσση δὲ τροφὸς περὶ πάντων.
κ. τ. λ.

Verum sistentur venti, venietque secunda
Ætas. O Phrygia, a summis tu vertice prima
Emerges undis: hominum tu prima renascens
Educes genus, et censebere maxima nutrix! &c.

And again—

Ἔστι δέ τις Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἠπείροιο μελαίνης,
Ἠλίβατον τανύμηκες ὄρος, Ἀραρὰτ δὲ καλεῖται.
κ. τ. λ.

Assurgit Phrygiæ mons quidem in finibus atræ,
Arduus, alta petens, Ararat quem nomine dicunt.

And again—

Ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Μαρσύου πέφυκαν.
Τοῦ δὲ κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψήλοιο καρήνῳ
Ληξάντων ὑδάτων.

Fluminis unde alti Marsyæ manat origo.
Hujus in excelso postquam cessantibus undis
Constitit arca jugo.

Or, as Bochart renders the passage—

Marsya magnus ubi se prodit origine prima,
Montis in excelsi summo capite arca resedit.

These notions, however, concerning the great antiquity of the Phrygians, were not universal. On the contrary, the tide of opinion seems to have often flowed the other way. The following passage occurs in Herodotus—*Οἱ δὲ Φρύγες (ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι) ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπηΐοι ἔοντες συνοίκουν Μακεδόσι. Μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας.* (L. 7. c. 73.) *The Phrygians (as the Macedonians say) were called Briges, as long as, being Europeans, they dwelt with the Macedonians; but passing over into Asia, they changed country, and at the same time altered their name into Phrygians.* We are informed by the same historian in another place (L. 7.), that the Thracians, who passed from Europe into Asia, took the name of Bithynians, and that they had been previously called Strymonians, from the river Strymon, on the borders of which they had dwelt, until they were thence expelled by the Teucrians and Mysians. But at the word *Briges* Stephanus Byzantinus, after having referred to the first of the two passages in Herodotus which I have just cited, proceeds

as follows—*Βριγία ἡ Τροική. τουτέστιν ἡ Φρυγία, ἀπὸ Βρίγου τοῦ κατοικήσαντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν πρώτῃ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων, Βρίγαντας αὐτοὺς φησι. τὰ γὰρ εἰς γας λήγοντα ὀνόματα ἰσοσυλλάβως κλίνεται, ὅτε μόνον εἰσὶ κύρια. τοῦτο δέ φημι διὰ τὸ Βρίγας. ἔθνος δέ ἐστι Βρεττανικὸν οἱ—Briga, which is the same as Trojan. This is Phrygia (so called), from Brigos, who dwelt in Macedonia. Herodian, in (treating of) the first declension of names, calls them Brigantes; for names terminating in* gas *are declined parasyllabically, when they are only proper names. But this is what I affirm concerning Brigas. Brigantes is also the denomination of a people of Britain.* Herodotus, (L. 1.) in enumerating the nations which were subdued by Crœsus, clearly shows, that he had always considered the Bithynians as Thracians. It appears indeed from Xenophon, (Anab. L. 6.) that a part of Bithynia was named Asiatic Thrace. Speaking of the port of Calpe, he says that it was situated *ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ—in that Thrace which is in Asia.* This territory he describes as extending from the mouth of the Pontus-Euxinus to Heraclea, and

as inhabited only by Thracians or Bithynians. In the Periplus ascribed to Arrian, the Bithynians are said to have been originally a people of Thrace; and we learn from Apollonius Rhodius (L. 2.) that they were anciently called *Bebryci*, and their country *Bebrycia*. Stephanus commences the article, of which I have quoted a part, with these words—*Βρίγες, ἔθνος Θρακικὸς*—*Briges a Thracian nation*. In his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes (S. 42.), Eustathius says that the Bryges, when they passed over from Europe into Asia, changed their ancient name into Phrygians. He states also (S. 107.) that they were variously called *Brygoi*, *Bryges*, and *Phryges*—*Βρύγοι γὰρ, καὶ Βρύγες, καὶ Φρύγες, ἐκλῃθήσαν οἱ αὐτοί*.

It is to be regretted that Strabo, on whose accuracy reliance may be often securely placed, has spoken upon the subject in question with less than his usual clearness, and with more than his usual scepticism. In various passages, which the learned reader will easily recognise, the great geographer has apparently confirmed the tradition of the Macedonians as reported

by Herodotus; but in one passage of his twelfth book he treats this and all similar accounts as fabulous. After having mentioned them, he adds, συνεργεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας μυθοποιίας, ἥτε σύγχυσις τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἡ εὐδαιμονία τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐντὸς Ἅλυος—*The confusion of the nations beyond the Halys, and the prosperity of the country within it, co-operate in favour of such fabulous fabrications.* In various other passages, however, Strabo has questioned the truth of these traditions with less severity.

If we believe Justin (L. 2.), the Egyptians and the Scythians warmly disputed which of the two had the better right to be considered as the more ancient nation. It seems difficult to understand how this controversy could have arisen, and have been carried on, between the rival claimants, if we suppose Justin to have meant by the Scythians the barbarous hordes that dwelt on the frozen banks of the Tanais, or among the snow-clad cliffs of the Riphean mountains. The probability is, that he intended to speak of the same dispute to which Herodotus, as is mentioned above, had already

alluded, when he stated that a similar contest had once existed between the Egyptians and the Phrygians. The last-mentioned people may have been considered by Justin, or rather by Trogus Pompeius, as of Scythian origin. Asia Minor was believed by the Roman, as well as by the Greek historian, to have been subdued by the Egyptian monarch, whom the former called Vexores, and to whom the latter gave the appellation, more familiar to our ears, of Sesostris. If then the Phrygians were originally Scythians, who migrated from the north-western provinces of Asia into Europe; who passed into Macedonia, and thence into Thrace; and who finally, in crossing the Hellespont, returned into Asia; and if, as is distinctly stated by the authors whom I have just cited, the Egyptians were at one time masters of the Asiatic peninsula, and had even established a colony in that country; we can easily understand how they might have been said to have come into collision with the Scythians, and to have either admitted, or rejected, the claims of that people to an antiquity more remote than their own.

There are undoubtedly many facts, which are, or may be, known to the modern inquirer, with which Herodotus and Trogus could not have been acquainted; but which might have furnished better arguments in favour of the antiquity of the Scythians, and consequently of the Phrygians, than have been suggested either by the Greek, or by the Roman historian. The ancient disputants, indeed, would probably have heard with surprise, and would scarcely have understood, the reasons employed by antiquaries of later date. It came not into the minds of the Scythians to inquire whether the fine arts were first taught on the banks of the Oxus; whether learning and science first flourished on the shores of the Caspian sea; and whether, or not, Balk were the original and the favoured seat of the Oriental Muses. Their reasoning, like that of their opponents, was neither strong nor clear. They thought not of arguing that the march of science had been from north to south. They suspected not that many astronomical discoveries had been made at the distance of forty-five degrees to the north of the equator.

The arguments by which Olaus Rudbeck and Bailli have endeavoured to show that Iran and India, as well as Egypt and Greece, derived their early knowledge from regions extending towards the arctic circle, have been rejected by many writers, who yet have not succeeded in refuting them. Some strong proofs, certainly, seem to confirm the conjectures of those who hold the north to have been the birth-place of science and the cradle of nations. This however is a question which I willingly leave to be discussed by such disputants as may have the courage to renew the debate which once existed between the Scythians and the Egyptians, but in which one half of our modern world is too idle, and the other half is too busy, to take any interest.

According to the epitomist of Trogus Pompeius, the Scythians, previously to the reign of Ninus, had ruled over Asia, or had at least exacted an annual tribute from that country during the long period of fifteen hundred years. By Asia Justin meant the Asiatic peninsula, also called the Lower Asia. It would be diffi-

cult, however, to reconcile the early and the long duration of this empire, as imagined by the Roman historian, to any admitted system of chronology; and in stating its existence as having lasted for several centuries before the time of Ninus, we say as much as probability can warrant, and as much as any useful research can require. In admitting, indeed, that the Scythians were masters of Asia Minor at any epoch, and for any period, before the establishment of the Assyrian empire under the son of Belus, we acknowledge them as the most ancient possessors of that country; for we have no acquaintance with any people anterior to them who can be supposed to have been the previous proprietors of the soil.

CHAPTER XI.

The same subject continued.

HAD the remnants of the ancient languages of Thrace and Phrygia been more numerous than they are, they would have helped us much in determining whether the inhabitants of those two countries were, or were not, distinct races. We know, however, that the Thracian dialect bore a considerable resemblance to the Gothic and to the Celtic; and the few Phrygian words, which have escaped the ravages of time, appear, generally speaking, to have been related to these languages.

With regard to the Thracian dialect, I am indeed inclined to agree with Salmasius, who, in his celebrated treatise *De Hellenistica*, has

thus expressed his opinion concerning it, and its cognate dialects: *Non dico eandem omnino fuisse linguam Græcorum, Getarum sive Thracum, et Teutonum sive Germanorum, sed multa hæ tres gentes habuisse vocabula communia, et ab eadem origine venientia.* M. Fourmont has stated, in speaking of one of his works, that he had there reduced the number of Greek radicals to 300—*Je réduis cette langue, dit-il, à 300 vocables, que je prouve être tirés les uns des Thraces et autres peuples voisins, les autres des Phéniciens, ou en général des langues Orientales,* &c. That a great number of Greek words may be found in the Celtic is admitted by Cluverius. Pelloutier says—*Il suffira de remarquer, que la langue Grecque conserve un très grand nombre de mots qui viennent originairement de l'ancien Scythe, dont le Gaulois, le Tudesque, et le Thrace, étoient des dialectes.* There seems indeed to be good reason for believing that the Thracians were of the same race with the various tribes of the north and the west, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais and the Danube; nor can it be well explained how Herodotus could have called

them the greatest people of the earth next to the Indians, unless he had considered them as belonging to the same family as the Scythians.[1]

If then we find that the language of the Phrygians resembled that of the Thracians, we shall have additional reason for thinking, not only that the former were related to the latter,

[1] In order to obviate some idle cavils, with which I must expect to be assailed, I think it proper to observe, that I have hitherto generally given the name of Scythians to those nations which issued from northern Asia. Neither do I think it necessary for the present to change this mode of expression. It might be necessary to point out the distinctions, both real and imaginary, which modern writers have endeavoured to establish between the Scythians and the numerous tribes which, under different denominations, Hyperboreans, Cimmerians, Sarmatians, Sclavonians, Scandinavians, Alemani, Suevi, Teutones, Huns, Goths, and Celts, have spread into nations, and risen into empires. I shall therefore continue to apply the general appellation of Scythians to all those hordes which, at various intervals, poured like torrents, from the north and from the west, into the Lower Asia, and despoiled and laid waste that fertile but unfortunate region.

but that they were originally of the same race with various nations of Asia and Europe. There would indeed be little temerity in arguing that the Thracian dialect resembled that of the Thessalians as well as that of the Macedonians, since this statement may be supported by the testimony of several Greek writers, and is authorised especially by the clear and positive evidence of Strabo. It must, however, be confessed that we possess but scanty information with regard either to the history or to the language of the ancient Thracians and Phrygians. According to Justin, the Scythians were masters of the Lower Asia for a period of 1500 years previous to the establishment of the Assyrian empire by Ninus. After the time of that monarch, until the fall of his dynasty, Phrygia, and the adjacent provinces, were probably governed by satraps of the great king. The first Phrygian prince, though probably still a satrap, to whom the Greeks gave the appellation of king, was named Manes, the commencement of whose reign has been idly thought by chronographers to correspond with the year

2025 before our era. This Manes, as we are told by Stephanus Byzantinus, was the son of Jupiter, and the father of Akmon; but it may be well suspected e was no other than the prince who bore a similar name, and who, if we believe other writers, reigned at a much later period over the provinces of Phrygia and Lydia. (Vide supra.)

The reign of Midas appears to have coincided with the most flourishing period of the Phrygian monarchy. According to Diogenes Laertius, this reign took place long after the time of Homer. The opulence, the prosperity, and perhaps the cupidity for gain, which rendered him remarkable, apparently gave rise to the fables ingeniously imagined concerning Midas. The whole of Thrace, if we believe Lycophron, was conquered by this prince; and in his time, if I do not err, and if Syncellus be accurate, the Phrygians extended their commerce to Syria, to Greece, and to Egypt; became distinguished as mariners; and were acknowledged to be the masters of the sea.

But it is argued, that if the Thracians were

conquered by the Phrygians, the latter could not have been descended from the same race with the former. Had the Phrygians been European emigrants, Thracians or Macedonians, or a mingled tribe in which both were united, these Phrygians, it is contended, would have been considered as colonists, and would have scarcely proceeded to such extremities against the parent country, as not only to reject its pretensions to supremacy, but to reduce it to the condition of a conquered province. The same reasoners, therefore, infer from the conquest of Thrace by Midas, that the Thracians and Phrygians were descended from nations altogether distinct from each other. This argument, however, appears to me to be of no validity. Brothers fight against brothers for authority; parents and children quarrel for dominion.

The writers to whom I allude, apparently argue with more force when they contend that the kings of Phrygia were not of Thracian extraction; and that among the dialects spoken in Asia Minor, the Thracian has never been reckoned, unless when considered as the same

with the language of the Bithynians; or of the Mariandyni.

The Phrygian prince called Manes, who was the father of Akmon, was clearly not of Thracian origin. The name was Egyptian; and was borrowed from the Egyptians by the Phrygians.

Either the Egyptians, or their Cretan imitators, introduced the worship of Isis, known by the name of Cybele, into the Lower Asia. An Italian writer, whose book is now before me, says, *nella Frigia, e in quelle vicinanze, antichissima era stata l' institutione dei misteri di Cibele. Dalla cronologia de' Marmi d' Oxford cavano gli eruditi, che abbia colà incominciato l' idolatrico culto della terra circa* 297 *anni prima della guerra di Troja.* This might have been about the time, as indeed Apollodorus says it was, when Scamander, with his Cretan colony, settled in Phrygia. Scamander was succeeded by his son Teucer, and Batea, the daughter of Teucer, espoused Dardanus, the founder of the dynasty which reigned at Troy, and which terminated with the fall of that city and with the

life of Priam. Now those who deny that the Phrygians were Thracian emigrants, also deny that Dardanus was a Thracian, as some have pretended. *Dardanus,* says Servius (in Æn. L. 3. v. 104.), *Jovis filius et Electræ, profectus de Corytho, civitate Thusciæ, primus venit ad Trojam;* and elsewhere (in Æn. L. 3. v. 167.), *Græci et Varro Dardanum non ex Italia, sed de Arcadica urbe Pheneo oriundum dicunt.* The language spoken by the Dardanidæ was Greek. Troy was the capital of Phrygia; and the Trojan kings were the masters of the whole region known by the name of Phrygia. The war between Tros and Tantalus by no means proves Troy and Phrygia to have been governed by different monarchs. Priam was king of all the Phrygians, as appears from a speech of Polyxena in the Hecuba of Euripides. The Trojans probably spoke two languages—Greek and Phrygian. Thus, for example, Alexander was the Greek name of the Phrygian Paris.

Admitting to those who advance these arguments that the facts are generally accurate, I am not prepared to allow the consequence,

which is vainly endeavoured to be drawn from them, or to consider the ancient Phrygian as distinct from the Thracian dialect. We have seen it recognised by some great authorities, that the Thracians of old spoke a language not very dissimilar to that of their European neighbours. But if their dialect resembled the Gothic and the Celtic, the few Phrygian words which still exist may be thought to be also Thracian, in those instances where their connexion with the other dialects just mentioned must be obvious to every philologist. Thus when we find among the few remnants of the Phrygian language words which we cannot doubt to be also Teutonic or Celtic, we may reasonably argue that those words were also Thracian, not only because Thrace was situate between Phrygia and the Teutonic nations, but because ancient writers distinctly state the resemblance of the dialects to each other. A few examples will perhaps render this statement more intelligible to the reader.

1. The Phrygians were denominated Briges, or Bryges, before they quitted Europe; and

the name was given to this people, or was assumed by them, from their dwelling either where there were bridges, or in the neighbourhood of a ferry. It appears clear from Strabo and Stephanus Byzantinus, that the Thracians employed the word, variously sounded *brig*, *bria*, *briva*, *briga*, as signifying a bridge, a ferry, or a town situate near to a ferry; and that they used the term Bryges to indicate the people residing in such situations. This fact strongly argues the Thracian origin of the Phrygians, whether we suppose them to have been called Bryges, because they lived near to the narrow canal of the Bosphorus, or because they had built many bridges over the Strymon, and had established cities on the banks of that river. (See Cluver. Germ. Ant. L. 1. and Pelloutier, Histoire des Celtes, prem. vol.) In North Britain the word *brig* is commonly used for bridge.

2. It is not remarkable, that when the Phrygians took that name, they derived it from a northern source. A nation, which assumes a new appellation, will take care to lose nothing

by the exchange. The Phrygians may have been, and probably were, compelled to quit their country, and they may have endeavoured to conceal the disgrace of expulsion under the veil of a splendid denomination. They called themselves *virtuous heroes*, for such is the signification of Phrygians, or Phryges; a name borrowed from the northern dialects, in which, as for example in Icelandic, the word *phraeg*, or *friga*, signifies heroic virtue. (Hickesii Thesaurus, vol. 3.)

Some writers contend that the Phrygians took their name, whether pronounced *Briges*, or *Phriges*, from that of the northern goddess called *Phreya*, or *Phria*. The meaning of the name is *liberty*; and as *Phreya* was the northern Venus, the appellation was well suited to the character of a divinity whose conduct is not supposed to be regulated by the strictest laws of morality. For the same reason, no doubt, the Bacchus of the Latins was called Liber by the Etruscans, and *Frehr*, or *Frer*, by the northern nations. (Thesaurus Hickesii, vol. 3.) Thus *Phriges*, or *Phryges*, of which *Briges*

was a corruption, signified *free, freemen;* and this derivation is supported by Joba or Juba, cited by Hesychius, who says, *Βρίγα λεγέσθαι τὸν ἐλεύθερον—a freeman is called Briga.* I cannot at this moment refer to the Edda, and I am not disposed to trust to the authority of Mallet; but, if I be not mistaken, the two goddesses *Phrigea, Phriga,* or *Phrige,* and *Phria,* or *Phreya,* played parts altogether different in the northern mythology. Be this as it may, most writers are agreed that the name of Phrygia is to be traced to the Teutonic language; and holding, as I do, all the Japhetic dialects to have borne at one epoch a strong resemblance to the Hamitic and Semitic, and a yet stronger similarity to each other, I find no difficulty in admitting that traces of relationship exist between languages spoken by nations dwelling in regions far remote from each other. I therefore feel no surprise when among the *rudera* of ancient dialects I meet with words which must have once belonged to a common language.

3. The Thracians are said to have taken their descent, and to have derived their appellation,

from Thiras, the son of Japhet. Josephus and Eusebius seem to be agreed upon this point. The former says that the Greeks changed the name from *Theiras* to Thracians;—according to the latter, the same people were called after *Thiras*, whose name he writes *Theras.*—*Θηρὰς, ἐξ οὗ Θρᾷκες.* The Greeks tell us that *Thuras* was the Mars of the Thracians, and the most ancient of their gods; and that the first king, who governed that warlike people, was *Teres*, the son of *Thuras.*

The resemblance of sound between the names of the Hebrew Thiras, and the Greek Thuras, and again between the appellation of the same Thiras, whom Eusebius calls Theras, and the Thracian monarch Teres, seems to authorise the derivation of the name traced back to the patriarchal age. The etymology becomes better confirmed when we consider that the other nations have been clearly designated in Scripture as the descendants of Japhet. It is also to be remembered that the patriarchal appellations were preserved by the inhabitants of various regions during the lapse of many ages. Cen-

turies after the days of the patriarchs, countries and nations continued to be called after them. Thus Egypt retained the name of Cham—Syria of Aram—Phœnicia of Canaan—the descendants of Lud were denominated Ludim, or Lydians; the posterity of Medai received the appellation of Medians; and from Cush sprang several nations of Asia and Africa, known in the East by the name of Cushim, or Cuthim.

As, however, it rarely happens that two etymologists are agreed, we must expect that there will be different opinions upon this, as upon the derivation of every other ancient name. In these matters general opinion best decides the question; because he who undertakes to act the part of an etymologist is but too often swayed so much by his own judgment, as to make him not only unwilling to listen to any evidence against it, but incapable of feeling the force of any reasoning, which may weaken his argument, and humiliate his vanity. I shall therefore leave it to my readers to judge whether the etymologies proposed above be well or ill founded. It may certainly be argued, with

some appearance of plausibility, that more recent dates ought to be assigned to the names of nations, with the early history of which we have little or no acquaintance. In the example before us, it may be argued that the Thracians took their name from a word in their own language; and that that name, signifying *strong*, or *mighty men*, might have been held by the barbarians of Thrace to have been one of the most honourable appellations which could be assumed by a great and warlike people. Certain it is, that in the dialect of the Cimbri, (see the Thesaurus of Hickes,) the word *thraek*, or *threik*, signified *strength* or *power*.

If the Phrygians were of Thracian origin, as I have been endeavouring to show that they were, it almost follows that their dialect was mixed with, and derived from, many others. The Thracians appear to have migrated from the borders of India to the frozen regions in the vicinity of the Jaxartes; thence towards the countries situate to the north of the Caspian sea; thence to the banks of the Rha and the Tanais; and finally into Europe, where they

spread into many families, tribes, and nations. Thus various dialects sprang up; and when those Thracians, afterwards called Phrygians, passed over the Bosphorus into Asia, they added new words to their former stock, and augmented their language in proportion as they met with strangers speaking in unknown idioms. It is generally from proper names that we learn whatever can be known of the ancient language of a country which has changed its dialect; and the appellations given to mountains, rivers, districts, and cities, in Phrygia, as well as to deities, are perhaps the best guides we can take, in order to ascertain the language of the people, before the epoch when Asia Minor became subject to Greece. In these proper names we find the mixture to be expected of various languages combining to form the idiom of a people who had been long in a migratory state, and who had gleaned many scattered words and phrases from the numerous nations with which they had come in contact.

But by whatever name we designate that great people, second only, according to Hero-

dotus, to the Indians, we must acknowledge their migrations to have been frequent. The father of history evidently included the Getæ and Cimbri in his list of Thracian nations: nor do I see how he could have reckoned those nations to have been so numerous as he supposes them, unless he admitted among them many of those tribes which he classes with the Scythians. Now of these there were various emigrations out of the east, and out of the north; and back again out of the west and out of the south. The world in those early ages presented the aspect of a vast ocean, with the heavings of all its billows, and the veerings of the winds impelling the waves in all directions. Celts, Goths, Scythians, Pelasgi, Alemanni, Sarmatians, Sclavonians, Huns, Vandals, Normans, followed and crossed each other in constant succession, during a long period of many years.

As far as I have been able to examine the few remains which still exist of the Phrygian language, I should judge it to have been originally a dialect of the Zend, much mixed in the

sequel with Celtic, with Gothic, and with Greek. I shall submit a few examples to the consideration of my readers.

Ἄγδεστις—*Agdestis.* This word is so variously written, that it would be rash to build any opinion upon it. Some say that it was the name of an evil genius; others that it was the appellation of the mother of the gods. This last is nearly the opinion which I am inclined to adopt; but I rather think that it signified *Domina Vesta,* whose worship the Persians probably introduced into Asia Minor; and I point it out as a corruption from *aga* and *Hestia.* The error of Herodotus concerning the name of *Hestia,* has been noticed in my first volume. If, however, Casaubon be right in his reading of Strabo (L. 10.), and if those writers who hold *Agdestis* to have been an evil genius be also correct, I should still derive this name from the Persian, in which language it would be easy to point out words of which this might have been a corruption.

Ἄρτεμις—*Artemis.* Every schoolboy is prepared to render Artemis by Diana; and per-

haps most schoolmasters would punish the boy who denied the identity of the two goddesses. The schoolmaster, however, ought to know that Artemis and Diana were really very different from each other; and that we make a great mistake when we speak of the Diana, instead of the Artemis of Ephesus.

Artemis is nothing else than a corruption of two oriental words—*art*, or *arta*, and *mah;* or perhaps better *ma—Magna Luna; aut melius Magna Mater.* If the Pagans had one chaste deity, it was Diana; and in no way, except as being both representatives of the Moon, could the virgin of the forest, and the many-breasted mother of the gods, be compared together. The Greeks may have heard the name variously sounded to their ears; and the goddess may have seemed to them to be differently called by the orientalists *Artamah* (*Magna Luna*)—*Artamis, magna excellentia, præstantia; vel Artama* (*Magna Mater*).

It would be easy for me to extend this history; but the state of my health compels me

thus abruptly to put a stop to inquiries which have always been amusing to myself, though I fear they have rarely been found so by others. I wish that I could say something more to extenuate my faults, and to excuse the errors of which in so long a work I have, I admit, occasionally been guilty; but the task of apology, much more of defence, is too much for me at present:—the pen drops powerless from my hand.

Rome, March 27, 1828.

PER LA MORTE

DELL' ONOREVOLISSIMO CAVALIERO

GUGLIELMO DRUMMOND,

GIA' INVIATO STRAORDINARIO E MINISTRO PLENIPOTENZIARIO DI SUA MAESTA' BRITANNICA PRESSO LA CORTE DI NAPOLI, ED INDI AMBASCIADORE DELLA PRELODATA MAESTA' SUA PRESSO LA PORTA OTTOMANA ec. ec. ec.

MORTO IN ROMA AI 29 *DI MARZO* 1828,

CANZONE

DI TOMMASO JACOPO MATHIAS,

(INGLESE,)

Membro della Reale Società Filosofica, e di quella, anche Reale, degli Antiquarj di Londra, Pastore Arcade in Roma, Membro Corrispondente dell' Accademia della Crusca in Firenze, e Socio Corrispondente della Società Pontaniana in Napoli ec.

Εὐδει

Χαρις, αμναμονες δε βροτοι,
Ὁ, τι μη σοφιας αωτον ακρον
Κλυταις επεων βοαισιν εξικηται ζυγεν.

PIND. Isthm. O. 7.

[*Napoli*, 1828.]

[*Stampata Privatam nte.*]

CANZONE.

I.

Eppur sonar di novo ancor di lutto
Flebil aura dal Tebro[a]
Sentesi intorno? Ahi, tal s' udia sull' Ebro
E del Tamigi all' imbrunito flutto
Già per Aroldo[b] e Federico[c] estinto,
In su le sponde argive,
Dell' armoniche dive
Splendori e lumi, e l' uno e l' altro spinto!
E per Guglielmo or tempro in toschi accenti
Il canto fra' lamenti,
Nè adulator, nè lusinghier, ma puro;
Nè d' intagliar son use
Mie non venali Muse
Sulle porte di bronzo un nome oscuro
Di vera gloria al tempio alto e sicuro.

II.

Sì; tre volte scoccò dal crudo fato
L' inevitabil dardo:
Geme Bretagna, geme Scienza, e 'l Bardo
Sul cener freddo inchino e desolato
Sospira invan; ma sull' onrata tomba

Dalla pieria foce
S' erge più nobil voce
Che non invan tra i secoli rimbomba.
Mormora dell' età passata il suono,
E par richieda il dono
A' prodi, a' vati, a' dotti ognor dovuto,
Chè di studj severi
Di feraci pensieri
Mai non si rompe il filo ben tessuto,
Nè dal livor, nè dall' obblio battuto.

III.

Ma non è Dirce, non Permesso è ingrato;
E chi s' alza fra loro,
Se non gemma oriental trova o tesoro,
Per altri spazj a lui sentesi a lato
Chi pur gli grida in tuon che non s' estingua;
Son le Muse felici
De' cieli animatrici,
Bello e dolce è lor labbro ed aurea lingua;
Suonano all' alme elette i strali all' etra
Della febea faretra;
Per quelle ancor la via alta e giuliva
S' apre ai boschi sabini,
Ai tebani confini,
Ai chiostri tusculani, e all' Arno in riva,
E dell' Ilisso all' onda ognor più viva.

IV.

Ve', di GUGLIELMO come al bel natale
Per lui ministra e serva
Alterna i suoi favor Clio e Minerva,
E, a gran voli futuri offrendo l' ale,
Vien d' ogni grazia colma Fantasia
Al vago suo soggiorno
Fiori spargendo intorno,
E, ogni tetro pensier cacciando via,
Accanto all' onestà porge conforto.
Indi a nobil diporto
Di Volterra[d] al bujor spiega ei dipinti
I carmi arcani e gravi;
Poi con ben altre chiavi
Va spinosi quesiti alti e indistinti
Sciogliendo d' Accademo ai bei recinti.[e]

V.

Non sazio ancor, ve', come ardito esplora
U' il Nilo[f] i fonti asconde,
E u' sparse in riva alle sue mistich' onde
Suoi primi raggi del saper l' aurora,
E, u' il torto delle stelle alto viaggio
Fu di scoprir concesso,
Segue fervido anch' esso
Con intelletto or curioso, or saggio,

U' spesso in laberinto oscuro e strano
Si perde ingegno umano
Tra quei fantasmi, ch' ai segreti chiostri
Invan celò l' Egitto,
Chè, di cifre al despitto,
Quai s' intendano alfin coi maghi inchiostri
L' Anglo e savio e 'l Francese a par dimostri.

VI.

Poi, d' arcano saper la mente ingombra,
S' ingolfa negli abissi
Dell' età più remote, i pensier fissi,
Vago di dissipar e 'l bujo e l' ombra,
Per dar norma all' istoria, ai tempi lume,
E a' più dubbiosi fati
Degl' imperi passati.
Babilonia pensosa invano assume
Di Belo antico il mal fondato vanto
Per più solenne incanto,
Mentre sull' ampio Irano e ai regni Persi
Fin dove l' onda è rossa
Sotto l' Araba possa
Stend' ei sua dotta verga, e scuopre spersi
I lor gran busti a terra e in polve immersi.

VII.

Impara ancor di cittadin qual sia
Quale il dover d' amico,

Nè tra delizie e vezzi al prato aprico,
Giovane ancor, menar suoi dì desia;
Pensa quai sien del senator l' incarco,
De' ben nati i costumi,
De' veri dotti i lumi,
E a scopo signoril drizzando l' arco
Ei s' accinge a destar tra fiori e mirti
Gli addormentati spirti;
Poi non indarno a' luminosi impieghi
Con tai d' ingegno doti,
Con ardori divoti
Aspira alfin; nè fia ch' a lui si nieghi
Che in altri climi i lumi suoi dispieghi.

VIII.

Bello è il mirar, di pace amata in grembo,
D' un riverito soglio,
Spento il furor dell' armi, il santo orgoglio
Non minacciato più da oscuro nembo;
Bello è il sentir fra nazioni amiche
Chi venga augusto pegno
Saggio, prudente, e degno
De' stati a ben librar l' alte fatiche.
Di tanto incarco un dì GUGLIELMO è lieto
Lungo il real Sebeto;
Poi, dove frange l' onda orrenda e bruna

Il Bosforo fremente,
Nel turbato Oriente
Sotto ai Britanni auspici accorto aduna
I sagri scettri, e ride ancor la *Luna*.

IX.

Stanco d' onori alfin, riposo ei brama,
E l' usato ristauro
Trova all' ombra gentil del *primo* lauro
Che intrecciato d' olivo più riama;
E a Partenope in grembo ai molli fiati
'Ve il mar tranquillo e dolce
I sguardi alletta e molce,
Ai studj s' inchinando ancor più grati
D' alta notte ai silenzj arde ed avvampa
A' rai d' amica lampa,
Dotto, ma incauto. Al dechinar degli anni
Trattar più mollemente
Dessi forza languente;
Ah, chi goder potria, d' età fra i danni,
Corpo senza dolor, cor senza affanni!

X.

Ma fuggir chi può mai gli allettamenti
Di Scienza vincitrice?
All' invaghito ingegno, no, non lice;
È vano il ragionar, vani i comenti:

Sol questi arresta il fato. Anche in Valchiusa
Del core sospiroso
Non cessò l' estro ascoso,
Lorchè mancò la travagliata musa
Stanca bensì, ma non illanguidita,
E quasi par sopita.
Ma di GUGLIELMO alfin s' ode l' addio:
Ei, sull' estremo passo
Grida, sereno e lasso,
" Cade, ahi, di morte cade al rovinio
Già spossata la penna. "—E qui finio.

CANZON, fra gente culta
D' amico affetto al pio voler non sorde
Fa risuonin le corde,
Mentre in famosa e riverita terra
Roma il suo cener serra.
Più oltre non cercar: ovunque vai,
Con più dovuti lai
Membrando ingegno suo fecondo e chiaro
Ed esempio sì raro,
Dì, forse è assai, che del Sebeto in riva
Altri di lui pensoso e canti e scriva.

Napoli,
Maggio 1828.

T. J. MATHIAS,
Inglese.

NOTE.

[a] È morto l'onorevolissimo Cavaliero Guglielmo Drummond in Roma li 29 di Marzo, nell' età di 58 in 59 anni.

[b] Lord Byron, morto in Missolonghi.

[c] Federico North, Conte di Guilford, dei Pari dell' Inghilterra, già Cancelliere dell' Università delle Isole Jonie in Corfù fondata sotto la protezione del Governo Britannico. Nacque egli in Febbrajo 1766; morì in Londra in Ottobre 1827.

[d] Le Satire di *Persio*, nato in Volterra, sono state da lui recate elegantemente e giudiziosamente in verso Inglese. Scrisse varie altre poesie ora leggiadre ora gravi. Fu il Cav. Drummond fautore generoso e Mecenate munifico di molti giovani di alti talenti nel corso de' loro studj.

[e] Si allude alla sua opera intitolata "*Accademiche Questioni.*"

[f] Si accennano le sue Ricerche sovra l' Egitto.

[g] Il celebre e benemerito della repubblica letteraria e filosofica in ogni maniera il Dottore *Tommaso Young*.

[h] Sig. *Champollion* indagatore felicissimo in questa materia seguendo l' orme originali del prelodato Dottore T. Young. Bastano i due nomi illustri.

[i] Si allude ai suoi dotti volumi intitolati, "*Origines*," ossia, Osservazioni sull' Origine di Varii Imperi, Stati, e Citta. Se ne sono pubblicati tre volumi.

[k] Petrarca fu trovato morto nella sua biblioteca col capo appoggiato su un libro. "Parea posar come persona stanca."

[l] Le proprie parole del Cav. G. Drummond al suo medico erudito, sagace, affezionato, ed indefesso, il Dottore *Watson*, nell' atto che poneva fine al *quarto* volume della sua opera, "Origines," due giorni prima di morire. Se ne attende la stampa.

FINE.

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

TO VOLUME III.

P. 6, l. 13. for Ηρακηελη read Ηρακληελη

14, last line — ال ثلاثة *al Salasah* read ال ثلاثة *al Salasat*

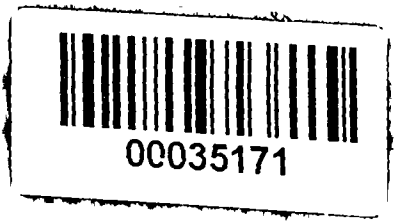
17, l. 16. — *precipices* read *along precipices*

52, l. 3 from bottom, for *opifex verum* read *opifex rerum*

95,	l. 20.	for	שָׂדֵה	read	שָׂדֶה
—	l. 21.	—	שֵׂדִים	—	שָׂדִים
219,	l. 8.	—	נק	—	נף
232,	l. 14.	—	الخضم	—	الخضر
304,	l. 21.	—	المغرب	—	المغرب
3 4,	l. 10.	—	*Vulgate*	—	*Septuagint.*

I observe, that at pages 194 and 195 I have neglected to catch the words שדד and שדי. The Jews, and other disciples of the masorah, will probably consider this omission as more important than I do.

At page 211, note 51, I ought to have stated that I preferred the etymology there given to that mentioned at page 109.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